Engraved by R. Mackenzie, from a Drawing by Jamesone.

James 6th

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THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

DURING THE REIGNS OF

QUEEN MARY, AND KING JAMES VI.

TILL

HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

WITH

A REVIEW of the SCOTTISH HISTORY
previous to that Period;

And an APPENDIX containing ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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1800.

A

CRITICAL DISSERTATION

CONCERNING

The MURDER of King HENRY, and the genuineneſs of the Queen's Letters to Bothwell.

IT is not my intention to engage in all the controverſies to which the murder of king Henry, or the letters from Mary to Bothwell, have given riſe; far leſs to appear as an adverſary to any particular author, who had treated of them. To repeat, and to expoſe all the ill-founded aſſertions with regard to theſe points, which have flowed from inattention, from prejudice, from partiality, from malevolence, and from diſhoneſty, would be no leſs irkſome to myſelf, than unacceptable to moſt of my readers. All I propoſe, is to aſſiſt others in forming ſome judgment concerning the facts in diſpute, by ſtating the proofs produced on each ſide, with as much brevity as the caſe will admit, and with the ſame attention and impartiality which I have endeavoured to exerciſe in examining other controverted points in the Scottiſh hiſtory.

In order to account for the king's murder, two different ſyſtems have been formed. The one ſuppoſes Bothwell both to have contrived and executed this crime. The other imputes it to the earls of Murray, and Morton, and their party.

The deciſion of many controverted facts in hiſtory, is a matter rather of curioſity than of uſe. They ſtand detached; and whatever we determine with regard to them, the fabric of the ſtory remains untouched. But the fact under diſpute in this place is a fundamental and eſſential one, and according to the opinion which an hiſtorian adopts with regard to it, he muſt vary and

diſpoſe the whole of his ſubſequent narration. An hiſtorical ſyſtem may be tried in two different ways, whether it be conſiſtent with probability, and whether it be ſupported by proper evidence.

Thoſe who charge the king's murder upon Bothwell, argue in the following manner; and though their reaſonings have been mentioned already in different places of the narrative, it is neceſſary to repeat them here. Mary's love for Darnly, ſay they, was a ſudden and youthful paſſion. The beauty of his perſon was his chief merit. His capricious temper ſoon raiſed in the queen a diſguſt, which broke out on different occaſions. His engaging in the conſpiracy againſt Rizio, converted this diſguſt into an indignation, which he was at no pains to conceal. This breach was, perhaps, in its own nature, irreparable; the king certainly wanted that art and condeſcenſion which alone could have repaired it. It widened every day, and a deep and ſettled hatred effaced all remains of affection. Bothwell obſerved this, and was prompted by ambition, and perhaps by love, to found on it a ſcheme, which proved fatal both to the queen and to himſelf. He had ſerved Mary at different times with fidelity and ſucceſs. He inſinuated himſelf into her favour, by addreſs and by flattery. By degrees he gained her heart. In order to gratify his love, or at leaſt his ambition, it was neceſſary to get rid of the king. Mary had rejected the propoſal made to her for obtaining a divorce. The king was equally hated by the partiſans of the houſe of Hamilton, a conſiderable party in the kingdom; by Murray, one of the moſt powerful and popular perſons in his country; by Morton and his aſſociates, whom he had deceived, and whom Bothwell had bound to his intereſt by a recent favour. Among the people Darnly was fallen under extreme contempt. He expected for all theſe reaſons, that the murder of the king would paſs without any inquiry, and to Mary's love, and to his own addreſs and good fortune, he truſted for the accompliſhment of the reſt of his wiſhes. What Bothwell expected really came to paſs. Mary, if not privy herſelf to the deſign, connived at an action which rid her of a man whom ſhe had ſuch good rea-

ſon to deteſt. A few months after ſhe was married to the perſon who was both ſuſpected and accuſed of committing the murder.

Thoſe who charge the guilt upon Murray and his party, reaſon in this manner: Murray, they ſay, was a man of boundleſs ambition. Notwithſtanding the illegitimacy of his birth, he had early formed a deſign of uſurping the crown. On the queen's return into Scotland, he inſinuated himſelf into her favour, and engroſſed the whole power into his own hands. He ſet himſelf againſt every propoſal of marriage which was made to her, leſt his own chance of ſucceeding to the crown ſhould be deſtroyed. He hated Darnly, and was no leſs hated by him. In order to be revenged on him, he entered into a ſudden friendſhip with Bothwell, his ancient and mortal enemy. He encouraged him to perpetrate the crime, by giving him hopes of marrying the queen. All this was done with a deſign to throw upon the queen herſelf the imputation of being acceſſary to the murder, and under that pretext, to deſtroy Bothwell, to depoſe and impriſon her, and to ſeize the ſceptre which he had wreſted out of her hands.

The former of theſe ſyſtems has an air of probability, is conſiſtent with itſelf, and ſolves appearances. In the latter, ſome aſſertions are falſe, ſome links are wanting in the chain, and effects appear, of which no ſufficient cauſe is produced. Murray, on the queen's return into Scotland, ſerved her with great fidelity, and by his prudent adminiſtration rendered her ſo popular, and ſo powerful, as enabled her with eaſe to quaſh a formidable inſurrection raiſed by himſelf in the year 1565. What motive could induce Murray to murder a prince without capacity, without followers, without influence over the nobles, whom the queen, by her neglect, had reduced to the loweſt ſtate of contempt, and who, after a long diſgrace, had regained (according to the moſt favourable ſuppoſition) the precarious poſſeſſion of her favour only a few days before his death? It is difficult to conceive what Murray had to fear from the king's life. It is no eaſy matter to gueſs what he could gain

by his death. If we ſuppoſe that the queen had no previous attachment to Bothwell, nothing can appear more chimerical than a ſcheme to perſuade her to marry a man, whoſe wife was ſtill alive, and who was not only ſuſpected, but accuſed, of murdering her former huſband. But that ſuch a ſcheme ſhould really ſucceed is ſtill more extraordinary.—If Murray had inſtigated Bothwell to commit the crime, or had himſelf been acceſſary to the commiſſion of it, what hopes were there that Bothwell would ſilently bear from a fellow-criminal all the perſecutions which he ſuffered, without ever retorting upon him the accuſation, or revealing the whole ſcene of iniquity? An ancient and deadly feud had ſubſiſted between Murray and Bothwell; the queen with difficulty had brought them to ſome terms of agreement. But is it probable that Murray would chooſe an enemy, to whom he had been ſo lately reconciled, for his confident in the commiſſion of ſuch an atrocious crime? Or, on the other hand, would it ever enter into the imagination of a wiſe man, firſt to raiſe his rival to ſupreme power, in hopes that afterwards he ſhould find ſome opportunity of depriving him of that power? The moſt adventurous politician never hazarded ſuch a dangerous experiment. The moſt credulous folly never truſted ſuch an uncertain chance.

But, however ſtrong theſe general reaſonings may be, we muſt decide according to the particular evidence produced. This we now proceed to examine.

That Bothwell was guilty of the king's murder, appears, 1. From the concurring teſtimony of all the contemporary hiſtorians. 2. From the confeſſion of thoſe perſons who ſuffered for aſſiſting at the commiſſion of the crime, and who entered into a minute detail of all its circumſtances. Anderſ. ii. 165. 3. From the acknowledgment of Mary's own commiſſioners, who allow Bothwell to have been one of thoſe who were guilty of this crime. Good. ii. 213 4. From the expreſs teſtimony of Leſly, biſhop of Roſs, to the ſame effect with the former. Def. of Q. Mary's Hon. And. i. 76. Id. iii. p. 31. 5. Morton, at his death, declared that Bothwell had ſolicited him, at different times,

to concur in the conſpiracy formed againſt the life of the king; and that he was informed by Archibald Douglas, one of the conſpirators, that Bothwell was preſent at the murder. Crawf. Mem. App. 4. The letter from Douglas to the queen, publiſhed in the Appendix No. XIV. confirms Morton's teſtimony. 6. Lord Herries promiſes, in his own name, and in the name of the nobles who adhered to the queen, that they would concur in puniſhing Bothwell as the murderer of the king. Append. No. XXIV.

The moſt direct charge ever brought againſt Murray is in theſe words of biſhop Leſly: "Is it unknown," addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Murray, "what the "lord Herries ſaid to your face openly, even at your "own table, a few days after the murder was com-"mitted? Did he not charge you with the foreknow-"ledge of the ſame murder? Did he not, *nulla circui-"tione uſus*, flatly and plainly burden you, that riding "in Fife, and coming with one of your moſt aſſured "and truſty ſervants the ſame day whereon you de-"parted from Edinburgh, ſaid to him, among other "talk, This night ere morning lord Darnly ſhall loſe "his life?" Defence of Q. Mary, Anderſ. ii. 75. But the aſſertion of a man ſo heated with faction as Leſly, unleſs it were ſupported by proper evidence, is of little weight. The ſervant to whom Murray is ſaid to have ſpoken theſe words, is not named; nor the manner in which this ſecret converſation was brought to light mentioned. Lord Herries was one of the moſt zealous advocates for Mary, and it is remarkable, that in all his negotiations at the court of England, he never once repeated this accuſation of Murray. In anſwering the challenge given him by lord Lindſay, Herries had a fair opportunity of mentioning Murray's knowledge of the murder; but, though he openly accuſes of that crime ſome of thoſe who adhered to him, he induſtriouſly avoids any inſinuation againſt Murray himſelf. Keith, Pref. xii. Mary herſelf, in converſation with ſir Francis Knolles, accuſed Morton and Maitland of being privy to the murder, but does not mention Mur-

ray. And. iv. 55. When the biſhop of Roſs and lord Herries themſelves appeared before the Engliſh council, January 11, 1569, they declared themſelves ready, in obedience to the queen's command, to accuſe Murray and his aſſociates of being acceſſary to the murder, but "they being alſo required, whether they, or any of "them, as of themſelves, would accuſe the ſaid earl "in ſpecial, or any of his adherents, or thought them "guilty thereof;" they anſwered, "That they took "God to witneſs that none of them did ever know "any thing of the conſpiracy of that murder, or were "in council and foreknowledge thereof; neither who "were deviſers, inventors, and executors of the ſame, "till it was publicly diſcovered long thereafter by "ſome of the aſſaſſins, who ſuffered death on that ac-"count." Good. ii. 308. Theſe words are taken out of a regiſter kept by Roſs and Herries themſelves, and ſeem to be a direct confutation of the biſhop's aſſertion.

The earls of Huntly and Argyll, in their *Proteſtation touching the Murder of the King of Scots*, after mentioning the conference at Craigmillar, concerning a divorce, add, "So after theſe premiſes, the murder of the king "following, we judge in our conſciences, and hold for "certain and truth, that the earl of Murray and ſecre-"tary Lethington were authors, inventors, counſellors, "and cauſers of the ſame murder, in what manner, "or by whatſoever perſons the ſame was executed." Anderſ. iv. 188. But, 1. This is nothing, more than the private opinion or perſonal affirmation of theſe two noblemen. 2. The concluſion which they make has no connection with the premiſes on which they found it: Becauſe Murray propoſed to obtain for the queen a divorce from her huſband with her own conſent, it does not follow that therefore he committed the murder without her knowledge. 3 Huntly and Argyll were at that time the leaders of that party oppoſite to Murray, and animated with all the rage of faction. 4. Both of them were Murray's perſonal enemies. Huntly, on account of the treatment which his family and clan had received from that nobleman. Argyll was deſirous of being

divorced from his wife, with whom he lived on no good terms, Knox, 328. and by whom he had no children. Crawf. Peer. 19. She was Murray's ſiſter, and by his intereſt he had obſtructed that deſign. Keith, 551. Theſe circumſtances would go far towards invalidating a poſitive teſtimony; they more than counterbalance an indeterminate ſuſpicion. 5. It is altogether uncertain whether Huntly and Argyll ever ſubſcribed this proteſtation. A copy of ſuch a proteſtation as the queen thought would be of advantage to her cauſe, was tranſmitted to them by her. Anderſ. iv. b. ii. 186. The proteſtation itſelf, publiſhed by Anderſon, is taken from an unſubſcribed copy with blanks for the date and place of ſubſcribing. On the back of this copy, there is paſted, indeed a paper, which Cecil has marked "Anſwer "of the earl of Murray to a writing of the earls of "Huntly and Argyll." Anderſ. 194, 195. But it can ſcarce be eſteemed a reply to the above-mentioned proteſtation. Murray's anſwer bears date at London, January 19, 1568. The queen's letter, in which ſhe incloſed the copy of the proteſtation, bears date at Bowton, Jan. 5, 1568. Now it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that the copy could be ſent into Scotland, be ſubſcribed by the two earls, and be ſeen and anſwered by Murray within ſo ſhort a time. Murray's reply ſeems intended only to prevent the impreſſion which the vague and uncertain accuſations of his enemies might make in his abſence. Cecil had got the original of the queen's letter into his cuſtody. Anderſ. iv. 185. This naturally leads us to conjecture that the letter itſelf, together with the incloſed proteſtation, were intercepted before they came to the hands of Huntly and Argyll. Nor is this mere conjecture alone. The letter to Huntly, in which the proteſtation was incloſed, is to be found; Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1. fol. 280. and is an original ſubſcribed by Mary, though not written with her own hand, becauſe ſhe ſeldom choſe to write in the Engliſh language. The proteſtation is in the ſame volume, fol. 282. and is manifeſtly written by the ſame perſon who wrote the queen's letter. This is a clear proof that both were intercepted. So that much has been founded on a paper not ſubſcrib-

ed by the two earls, and probably never ſeen by them. Beſides, this method which the queen took of ſending a copy to the two earls, of what was proper for them to declare with regard to a conference held in their own preſence, appears ſomewhat ſuſpicious. It would have been more natural, and not ſo liable to any miſinterpretation, to have deſired them to write the moſt exact account, which they could recollect, of what had paſſed in the converſation at Craigmillar.

The queen's commiſſioners at the conferences in England accuſed Murray and his aſſociates of having murdered the king. Good. ii. 281. But theſe accuſations are nothing more than looſe and general affirmations, without deſcending to ſuch particular circumſtances as either aſcertain their truth, or diſcover their falſehood. The ſame accuſation is repeated by the nobles aſſembled at Dumbarton, Sept. 1568. Good. ii. 359. And the ſame obſervation may be made concerning it.

All the queen's advocates have endeavoured to account for Murray's murdering of the king, by ſuppoſing that it was done on purpoſe that he might have the pretence of diſturbing the queen's adminiſtration, and thereby rendering ineffectual her general revocation of crown lands, which would have deprived him and his aſſociates of the beſt part of their eſtates. Leſly Def. of Mary's Hon. p. 73. But whoever conſiders the limited powers of a Scottiſh monarch, will ſee that ſuch a revocation could not be very formidable to the nobles. Every king of Scotland began his reign with ſuch a revocation; and as often as it was renewed, the power of the nobles rendered it ineffectual. The beſt vindication of Murray and his party from this accuſation, is that which they preſented to the queen of England, and which hath never hitherto been publiſhed.

Anſwers to the Objections and Alledgance of the Queen, alledging the Earl of Murray Lord Regent, the Earl of Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Hume, Ruthven, &c. to have been moved to armour, for that they abhorred and might not abide her Revocation of the Alienation made of her Property.

It is anſwered, that is alledged but all appearance, and it appears God has berett the alledgance of all wit and good remembrance, for thir reaſons following:

Imprimis, as to my lord regent, he never had occaſion to grudge thereat, in reſpect the queen made him privy to the ſame, and took reſolution with him for the execution thereof, letting his lordſhip know ſhe would aſſuredly in the ſamine except all things ſhe had given to him, and ratify them in the next parliament as ſhe did indeed; and for that cauſe wiſhed my lord to leave behind him maſter John Wood, to attend upon the ſame, to whom ſhe declared, that als well in that as in all other her grants it ſhould be provided, yea of free will did promiſe and offer before ever he demanded, as it came to paſs without any lett or impediment; for all was ratified by her command, and hand write, at the parliament, but [i. e. without] any difficulty.

Item as to my lord of Morton, he could not grudge thereat quha never had of her property worth twenty dollars that ever I knew of.

Item the ſame, I may ſay of my lord Glencairn.

Item the ſame, I may ſay of my lord Hume.

Item the ſame, I may ſay of my lord Ruthven.

Item the ſame, I may ſay of my lord Lindſay.

Only my lord of Marr, had ane little thing of the property quilk alſua was gladly and liberally confirmed to him, in the ſaid parliament preceding a year; was never ane had any cauſe of miſcontent of that revocation, far leſs to have put their lives and heritage to ſo open and manifeſt ane danger as they did for ſic ane frivole cauſe.

Gyf ever any did make evil countenance, and ſhow any miſcontentment of the ſaid revocation, it was my lord of Argyll in ſpeciall, quha ſpak largely in the time of parliament thairanents to the queen herſelf, and did complain of the manifeſt corruption of ane act of parliament paſt upon her majeſty's return, and ſa did let any revocation at that time; but the armour for revenge of the king's deid was not till twa months after, at quhat time there was no occaſion given thereof, nor never a man had mind thereof.

Having thus examined the evidence which has been produced againſt the earls of Murray and Bothwell; we ſhall next proceed to inquire whether the queen herſelf was acceſſary to the murder of her huſband.

No ſooner was the violent death of Darnly known, than ſtrong ſuſpicions aroſe, among ſome of her ſubjects, that Mary had given her conſent to the commiſſion of that crime. And. ii. 156. We are informed, by her own ambaſſador in France, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, that the ſentiments of foreigners, on this head, were no leſs unfavourable to her. Keith, Pref. ix. Many of her nobles loudly accuſed her of that crime, and a great part of the nation, by ſupporting them, ſeem to have allowed the accuſation to be well founded.

Some crimes, however, are of ſuch a nature, that they ſcarce admit of a poſitive or direct proof. Deeds of darkness can ſeldom be brought perfectly to light. Where perſons are accuſed not of being *principals*, but only of being *acceſſaries* to a crime; not of having perpetrated it themſelves, but only of giving conſent to the commiſſion of it by others, the proof becomes ſtill more difficult: and unleſs when ſome accomplice betrays the ſecret, a proof by circumſtances, or preſumptive evidence, is all that can be attained. Even in judicial trials, ſuch evidence is ſometimes held to be ſufficient for condemning criminals. The degree of conviction which ſuch evidence carries along with it, is often not inferior to that which ariſes from poſitive teſtimony; and a concurring ſeries of circumſtances ſatisfies the underſtanding no leſs than the expreſs declaration of witneſſes.

Evidence of both theſe kinds has been produced againſt Mary. We ſhall firſt conſider that which is founded upon circumſtances alone.

Some of theſe ſuſpicious circumſtances preceded the king's death; others were ſubſequent to it. With regard to the former, we may obſerve that the queen's violent love of Darnly was ſoon converted into an averſion to him no leſs violent; and that his own ill conduct and exceſſes of every kind, were ſuch, that if they did not juſtify, at leaſt they account for this ſudden change of her diſpoſition towards him. The riſe and

progreſs of this domeſtic rupture, I have traced with great care in the hiſtory, and to the proofs of it which may be found in papers publiſhed by other authors, I have added thoſe contained in App. No. XVI. and XVII. Du Croc, the French ambaſſador, who was an eye-witneſs of what he deſcribes, not only repreſents her diſguſt to Darnly to be extreme, but declares that there could be no hopes of a reconcilement between them. "The queen is in the hands of phyſicians, and I do aſſure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her diſeaſe to conſiſt in deep grief and ſorrow; nor does it ſeem poſſible to make her forget the ſame. Still ſhe repeats theſe words, *I could wiſh to be dead.* You know very well that the injury ſhe has received is exceeding great, and her majeſty will never forget it.—To ſpeak my mind freely to you, I do not expect, upon ſeveral accounts, any good underſtanding between them, [i. e. the king and queen], unleſs God effectually put to his hand.—His bad deportment is incurable; nor can there ever be any good expected from him, for ſeveral reaſons, which I might tell you was I preſent with you. I cannot pretend to foretell how all may turn, but I will ſay, that matters cannot ſubſiſt long as they are, without being accompanied with ſundry bad conſequences." Keith, Pref. vii. Had Henry died a natural death at this juncture, it muſt have been conſidered as a very fortunate event to the queen, and as a ſeaſonable deliverance from a huſband who had become altogether odious to her. Now as Henry was murdered a few weeks afterwards, and as nothing had happened to render the queen's averſion to him leſs violent, the opinion of thoſe who conſidered Mary as the author of an event which was manifeſtly ſo agreeable to her, will appear perhaps to ſome of our readers to be neither unnatural nor over-refined. If we add to this, what has been obſerved in the hiſtory, that in proportion to the increaſe of Mary's hatred of her huſband, Bothwell made progreſs in her favour, and that he became the object not only of her confidence, but of her attachment, that opinion acquires new ſtrength. It is eaſy to obſerve many advantages which might redound to Ma-

ry as well as to Bothwell from the king's death but excepting them no perſon, and no party in the kingdom, could derive the leaſt benefit from that event. Bothwell, accordingly, murdered the king, and it was, in that age, thought no violent imputation on Mary's character, to ſuppoſe that ſhe had conſented to the deed.

The ſteps which the queen took after her huſband's death add ſtrength to that ſuppoſition. 1. Melvil, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the king's death, aſſerts, that "every body ſuſpected the earl of Bothwell; and thoſe who durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly that it was he," p. 155. 2. Mary having iſſued a proclamation, on the 12th of February, offering a reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover thoſe who had murdered her huſband; And. i. 36; a paper in anſwer to this was affixed to the gates of the tolbooth, February 16, in which Bothwell was named as the chief perſon guilty of that crime, and the queen herſelf was accuſed of having given her conſent to it. And. ii. 156. 3. Soon after, February 20, the earl of Lennox, the king's father, wrote to Mary, conjuring her, by every motive, to proſecute the murderers with the utmoſt rigour. He plainly declared his own ſuſpicions of Bothwell, and pointed out a method of proceeding againſt him, and for diſcovering the other authors of the crime, no leſs obvious than equitable. He adviſed her to ſeize, and to commit to ſure cuſtody, Bothwell himſelf, and thoſe who were already named as his accomplices; to call an aſſembly of the nobles; to iſſue a proclamation, inviting Bothwell's accuſers to appear; and if, on that encouragement, no perſon appeared to accuſe them, to hold them as innocent, and to diſmiſs them without further trial. And. i. 40. 4. Archbiſhop Beatoun, her ambaſſador in France, in a letter to Mary, March 9th, employs arguments of the utmoſt weight to perſuade her to proſecute the murderers with the greateſt ſeverity. "I can conclude naething (ſays he) by quhat zour majeſty writes to me zourſelf, that ſen it has pleſit God to conſerve zow to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taine, it appears to me better in this warld that ze had loſt life and all. I aſk

your majeſtie pardon, that I write ſae far, for I can heir naething to zour prejudiſe, but I *man* [muſt] conſtraindly writ the ſamin, that all may come to zour knawledge; for the better remede may be put thereto. Heir it is needful that ze forth ſhaw now rather than ever of before, the greite vertue, magnanimitie, and conſtance that God has grantit zow, be quhais grace, I hope ze ſall overcome this moſt heavy envie and diſpleſir of the committing thereof, and conſerve that reputation in all godlineſs, ze have conquiſt of lang, quhich can appear na wayis mair clearlie, than that zou do *ſick* [ſuch] juſtice that the *hail* [whole] world may declare zour innocence, and give teſtimony forever of their treaſon that has committed *(but* [without] fear of God or man) ſo cruel and ungodly a murther, quhairof there is ſa *mickle* [much] ill ſpoken, that I am conſtrainit to aſk zou mercy, that neither can I or will I make the rehearſal thereof, which is *owr* [too] odious. But alas! madame, all over Europe this day, there is na purpoſe in head ſa frequent as of zour majeſtie, and of the preſent ſtate of zour realm, quhilk is in the moſt part interpretit ſiniſterly." Keith, Pref. ix. 5. Elizabeth, as appears from Append. Vol. I. No. XIX. urged the ſame thing in ſtrong terms. 6. The circumſtances of the caſe itſelf, no leſs than theſe ſolicitations and remonſtrances, called for the utmoſt vigour in her proceedings. Her huſband had been murdered in a cruel manner, almoſt in her own preſence. Her ſubjects were filled with the utmoſt horror at that crime. Bothwell, one of her principal favourites, had been publicly accuſed as the author of it. Reflections, extremely diſhonourable to herſelf, had been thrown out. If indignation and the love of juſtice, did not prompt her to purſue the murderers with ardour, decency, at leaſt, and concern for vindicating her own character, ſhould have induced her to avoid any appearance of remiſſneſs or want of zeal.

But inſtead of this, Mary continued to diſcover, in all her actions, the utmoſt partiality towards Bothwell. On the 15th of February, five days after the murder, ſhe beſtowed on him the reverſion of the ſuperiority of the town of Leith. which, in the year 1565, ſhe had

mortgaged to the citizens of Edinburgh. This grant was of much importance, as it gave him not only the command of the principal port in the kingdom, but a great aſcendant over the citizens of Edinburgh, who were extremely deſirous of keeping poſſeſſion of it*.

* *Copy from the original in the charter-houſe of the city of Edinburgh of an Aſſignation to the reverſion of the ſuperiority of Leith by queen Mary, to the earl of Bothwell.*

Maria Dei gratia Regina Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus ſuis ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint ſalutem. Sciatis, quod nos ad memoriam reducentes multiplex bonum verum et fidele ſervitium, non tantum quondam noſtræ chariſſime matri Mariæ Reginæ regni noſtri pro tempore in noſtra minoritate factum et impenſum, verum etiam nobiſmet ipſis, tam intra partes Galliæ quam intra hoc noſtrum regnum, ad extentionem noſtri honoris et auctoritatis in punitione furum, malefactorum, et tranſgreſſorum intra idem, per noſtrum conſiſum conſanguineum et conſiliarium Jacobum comitem Bothuile, dominum Halis. Creighton et Liddiſdale, magnum admirallum regni noſtri, commiſſionem et onerationem ad hunc effectum habentem, per quas ipſe ſuum corpus et vitam in magno periculo poſuit; ac etiam, in performatione et extentione noſtri dicti ſervitii, ſuam hereditatem, ſupra ſummam viginti millium mercarum hujus noſtri regni, alienavit ac læſit. Et nos cogitantes quod, ex noſtra principali honore et devoria dictum noſtrum conſiſum conſanguineum & conſiliarium eum quodam accidente et gratitudine recompenſare et gratificare incumbit quæ nos commodè ſibi concedere poterimus, unde ipſe magis habilis omnibus affuturus temporibus eſſe poterit, et ad hujuſmodi perforandum in omnibus cauſis ſeu eventibus; In recompenſationem quorum præmiſſorum, ac pro diverſis aliis noſtris rationabilibus cauſis et conſiderationibus nos moventibus, Fecimus, &c. dictum Jacobum comitem Bothuile, &c. ac ſuos hæredes maſculos quoſcunque noſtros legitimos, &c. aſſignatos in et ad literas reverſionis factas, &c. per Symonem Preſton de eodem militem, præ-

2. Bothwell being extremely desirous to obtain the command of the castle of Edinburgh, the queen, in order to prevail on the earl of Mar to surrender the government of it, offered to commit the young prince to his custody. Mar consented; and she instantly appointed Bothwell governor of the castle. And. i. Pref. 64. Keith, 379. 3. The inquiry into the murder, previous to Bothwell's trial, seems to have been conducted with the utmost remissness. Buchanan exclaims loudly against this. And. ii. 24. Nor was it without reason that he did so, as is evident from a circumstance in the affidavit of Thomas Nelson, one of the king's servants, who was in the house when his master was murdered, and was dug up alive out of the rubbish. Being examined on the Monday after the king's death, "This deponar schew the Bonkle had the key of the cellare, and the Queenis servandis the keys of her shalmir. Quhilk the laird of Tullibardin hearing, said, Hald thair, here is ane ground. Efter quhilk words spokin, thai left of, and proceedit na farther in the inquisition." And. iv. p. 2. 167. Had there been any intention to search into the bottom of the matter a circumstance of so much importance merited the

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positum, balivos, consules, et communitatem hujus nostri burgi de Edinburgh, pro seipsis ac suis successoribus, &c. nobis, nostrisque heredibus, successoribus, et assignatis pro redemptione, &c. superioritatis totius villæ de Leith, &c. impignoratæ per nos dictis præposito, &c. sub reversione alienatæ continentis summam decem millium mercarum monetæ præscriptæ numerandum et calculandum in parochiali ecclesia de Edinburgh, super premonitione quadraginta dierum, ut moris est, veluti in dictis reversionis literis, &c. de data 8vo Octob. 1565. &c. (The rest is form, and contains a clause of absolute warrandice.) IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM præsentibus magnum sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus Apud Edinburgh decimo quinto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo sexto, et regni nostri vicesimo quinto.

The great seal entire.

moſt careful enquiry. 4. Notwithſtanding Lennox's repeated ſolicitations, notwithſtanding the reaſonableneſs of his demands, and the neceſſity of complying with them, in order to encourage any accuſer to appear againſt Bothwell, ſhe not only refuſed to commit him to cuſtody, or even to remove him from her preſence and councils; And. i. 42, 48. but by the grants which we have mentioned, and by other circumſtances, diſcovered an increaſe of attachment to him. 5. She could not avoid bringing Bothwell to a public trial; but ſhe permitted him to ſit as a member in that meeting of the privy-council which directed his own trial; and the trial itſelf was carried on with ſuch unneceſſary precipitancy, and with ſo many other ſuſpicious circumſtances, as render his acquittal rather an argument of his guilt than a proof of his innocence. Theſe circumſtances have all been mentioned at length in Book IV. and therefore are not repeated in this place. 6. Two days after the trial, Mary gave a public proof of her regard for Bothwell, by appointing him to carry the ſceptre before her at the meeting of parliament. Keith, 378. 7. In that parliament ſhe granted him a ratification of all the vaſt poſſeſſions and honours which ſhe had conferred upon him, in which was contained an ample enumeration of all the ſervices he had performed. And. i. 117. 8. Though Melvil, who foreſaw that her attachment to Bothwell would at length induce her to marry him, warned her of the infamy and danger which would attend that action, ſhe not only diſregarded this ſalutary admonition, but diſcovered what had paſſed between them to Bothwell, which expoſed Melvil to her indignation. Melv. 156. 9. Bothwell ſeized Mary as ſhe returned from Stirling, April 24. If he had done this without her knowledge and conſent, ſuch an inſult could not have failed to have filled her with the moſt violent indignation. But according to the account of an old MS. "The friendly love was ſo highly contracted between this great princeſs and her enormous ſubject, that there was no end thereof, for (it was conſtantly eſteemed by all men, that either of them loved other carnally), ſo that ſhe ſuffered patiently to be led where

the lover liſt, and all the way neither made obſtacle, impediment, clamour, or reſiſtance, as in ſuch accidents uſe to be, or that ſhe might have done by her princely authority, being accompanied with the noble earl of Huntly, and ſecretary Maitland of Lethington." Keith, 383 Melvil, who was preſent confirms this account, and tells us that the officer by whom he was ſeized, informed him that nothing was done without the queen's conſent Melv. 158. 10. On the 12th of May, a few days before her marriage, Mary declared that ſhe was then at full liberty, and that though Bothwell had offended her by ſeizing her perſon, ſhe was ſo much ſatisfied with his dutiful behaviour ſince that time, and ſo indebted to him for paſt ſervices, that ſhe not only forgave that offence, but reſolved to promote him to higher honours And. i. 87. 11. Even after the confederate nobles had driven Bothwell from the queen's preſence, and though ſhe ſaw that he was conſidered as the murderer of her former huſband by ſo great a part of her ſubjects, her affection did not in the leaſt abate, and ſhe continued to expreſs the moſt unalterable attachment to him "I can perceive (ſays Sir N. Throkmorton) that the rigour with which the queen is kept, proceedeth by order from theſe men, becauſe that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to proſecute the murderer; nor will not conſent by any perſuaſion to abandon the lord Bothwell for her huſband, but avoweth conſtantly that ſhe will live and die with him; and ſaith, that if it were put to her choice to relinquiſh her crown and kingdom or the lord Bothwell, ſhe would leave her kingdom and dignity to go a ſimple damſel with him, and that ſhe will never conſent that he ſhall fare worſe, or have more harm than herſelf." Append. to Vol. I. No. XXII. From this long enumeration of circumſtances, we may without violence, draw the following concluſion: Had Mary really been acceſſary to the murder of her huſband; had Bothwell perpetrated the crime with her conſent, or at her command; and had ſhe intended to ſtifle the evidence againſt him, and to prevent the diſcovery of his guilt, ſhe could ſcarcely

have taken any other ſteps than thoſe ſhe took, nor could her conduct have been more repugnant to all the maxims of prudence and of decency.

The poſitive evidence produced againſt Mary may be claſſed under two heads.

1. The depoſitions of ſome perſons who were employed in committing the murder, particularly of Nicholas Hubert, who in the writings of that age, is called *French Paris*. This perſon, who was Bothwell's ſervant, and much truſted by him, was twice examined, and the original of one of his depoſitions, and a copy of the other, are ſtill extant. It is pretended that both theſe are notorious forgeries. But they are remarkable for a ſimplicity and *naivitè* which it is almoſt impoſſible to imitate; they abound with a number of minute facts and particularities, which the moſt dexterous forger could not have eaſily aſſembled and connected together with any appearance of probability; and they are filled with circumſtances, which can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have entered the imagination of any man but one of Paris's profeſſion and character. But, at the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged, that his depoſitions contain ſome improbable circumſtances. He ſeems to have been a fooliſh talkative fellow; the fear of death, the violence of torture, and the deſire of pleaſing thoſe in whoſe power he was, tempted him, perhaps, to feign ſome circumſtances, and to exaggerate others. To ſay that ſome circumſtances in an affidavit are improbable or falſe, is very different from ſaying that the whole is forged. I ſuſpect the former to be the caſe here; but I ſee no appearance of the latter. Be that as it will, ſome of the moſt material facts in Paris's affidavits reſt upon his ſingle teſtimony; and for that reaſon, I have not in the hiſtory, nor ſhall I in this place, lay any ſtreſs upon them.

2. The letters ſaid to be written by Mary to Bothwell. Theſe have been frequently publiſhed. The accident by which the queen's enemies got them into their poſſeſſion, is related in Book V. When the authenticity of any ancient paper is dubious or conteſted, it may be aſcertained either by external or internal evidence. Both theſe have been produced in the preſent caſe.

I. External proofs of the genuineneſs of Mary's letters. 1. Murray, and the nobles who adhered to him, affirm upon their word and honour, that the letters were written with the queen's own hand, with which they were well acquainted. Good. ii. 64, 92. 2. The letters were publicly produced in the parliament of Scotland, December 1567; and were ſo far conſidered as genuine, that they are mentioned in the act againſt Mary, as one chief argument of her guilt. Good. ii. 66, 67. 3. They were ſhewn privately to the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadler, Elizabeth's commiſſioners at York. In the account which they gave of this matter to their miſtreſs, they ſeem to conſider the letters as genuine, and expreſs no ſuſpicion of any forgery; they particularly obſerve, "that the matter contained in them is ſuch, that it could hardly be invented and deviſed by any other than herſelf; for that they diſcourſe of ſome things, which were unknown to any other than to herſelf and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit ſo many, ſo the matter of them, and the manner how theſe men came by them, is ſuch, as it ſeemeth that God, in whoſe ſight murder and bloodſhed of the innocent is abominable, would not permit the ſame to be hid or concealed." Good. ii. 142. They ſeem to have made ſuch an impreſſion on the duke of Norfolk, that in a ſubſequent letter to Pembroke, Leiceſter, and Cecil, he has theſe words: "If the matter ſhall be thought as deteſtable and manifeſt to you, as for ought we can perceive it ſeemeth here to us." Good ii. 154. For, after the conferences at York and Weſtminſter were finiſhed, Elizabeth reſolved to call together the earls who were then at court, and to lay before them the whole proceedings againſt the Scottiſh queen, particularly that "the letters and writings exhibited by the regent, as the queen of Scots' letters and writings, ſhould alſo be ſhewed, and conference [i. e. compariſon] thereof made in their ſight, with the letters of the ſaid queen's, being extant, and heretofore written with her own hand, and ſent to the queen's majeſty; whereby may be ſearched and examined what difference

is betwixt them." Good. ii. 252. They aſſembled accordingly, at Hampton Court, December 14 and 15, 1568; and, "The originals of the letters ſuppoſed to be written with the queen of Scots' own hand, were then alſo preſently produced and peruſed; and, being read, were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing, and faſhion of orthography, with ſundry other letters long ſince heretofore written, and ſent by the ſaid queen of Scots to the queen's majeſty. In collation whereof no difference was found." Good. ii. 256. 7. Mary having written an apologetical letter for her conduct to the counteſs of Lennox, July 10, 1570*,

* Mary's lettter has never been publiſhed, and ought to have a place here, where evidence on all ſides is fairly produced. "Madam, if the wrang and falſe reportis of rebellis, enemies weill knawin for traitouris to zow, and alace to muche truſted of me by your advice, had not ſo far ſturred you againis my innocency, (and I muſt ſay againis all kyndneſs, that zou have not onelie as it were condempnit me wrangfullie, but ſo hated me, as ſome wordis and opene deideis hes teſtifeit to all the warlde, a manyfeſt miſliking in you aganis zour awn blude), I wold not have omittit thus lang my dewtie in wryting to zou excuſing me of thoſe untrue reporties made of me. But hoping with Godis grace and tyme to have my innocency knawin to zow, as I truſt it is already to the maiſt pairt of all indifferent perſonis, I thocht it beſt not to trouble zou for a tyme till that ſuch a matter is moved that tuichis us bayth, quhilk is the tranſporting zoure littil ſon and my onelie child in this countrey. To the quhilk albeit I be never ſo willing. I wald be glaid to have zour advyſe therein, as in all other thingis tuiching him. I have born him, and God knawis with quhat danger to him and me boith; and of zow he is deſcendit. So I meane not to forzet my dewtie to zow, in ſchewin herein any unkyndneſs to zow, how unkindlie that ever ze have delt with me, bot will love zow as my awnt, and reſpect zow as my moder in law. And gif ye ples to knaw farther of my mynd in that and all uther thingis betwixt us, my am-

ſhe tranſmitted it to her huſband then in Scotland; and he returned to the counteſs the following anſwer: "Seeing you have remittit to me, to anſwer the queen the king's mother's letters ſent to you, what can I ſay but that I do not marvell to ſee hir writ the beſt ſhe can for hirſelf, to ſeame to purge her of that, quhairof many beſyde me are certainly perſuadit of the contrary, and I not only aſſurit by my awin knawledge, but by her hand writ, the confeſſions of men gone to the death, and uther infallibil experience. It wull be lang tyme that is hable to put a mattir ſo notorious in oblivioun, to mak black quhyte, or innocency to appear quhair the contrary is ſa weill knawin. The maiſt indifferent, I truſt, doubtis not of the equite of zour and my cauſe, and of the juſt occaſioun of our myſliking. Hir right dewtie to zow and me, being the parties intereſt, were hir trew confeſſioun and unfeyned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for hir to be reportit, and ſorrowful for us to think of. God is juſt, and will not in the end be abuſed; but as he has manifeſted the trewth, ſo will he puneiſe the iniquity." *Lennox's Orig. Regiſt. of Letters.* In their public papers, the queen's enemies may be ſuſpected of advancing what would be moſt ſubſervient to their cauſe, nor what was agreeable to truth, or what flowed from their own inward conviction. But in a private letter to his own wife, Lennox had no occaſion to diſſemble; and it is plain, that he not only thought the queen guilty, but believed the authenticity of her letters to Bothwell.

II. With regard to the internal proofs of the genuineneſs of the queen's letters to Bothwell, we may obſerve, 1. That whenever a paper is forged with a par-

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baſſador the biſhop of Roſs ſall be ready to confer with zou. And ſo after my hairtlie commendationis, remitting me to my ſaide ambaſſador, and zour better conſideration, I commit zou to the protection of Almighty God, quhom I pray to preſerve zou and my brother Charles, and caus zou to knaw my pairt better nor ze do. From Chaitſworth this x of July 1570.

To my Ladie Lennox my moder in law — Your natural gude Nice and loving dochter."

ticular intention, the eagerneſs of the forger to eſtabliſh the point in view, his ſolicitude to cut off all the doubts and cavils, and to avoid any appearance of uncertainty, always prompt him to uſe expreſſions the moſt explicit and full to his purpoſe. The paſſages foiſted into ancient authors by heretics in different ages; the legendary miracles of the Romiſh ſaints; the ſuppoſititious deeds in their own favour produced by monaſteries; the falſe charters of homage mentioned, Vol. I. p. 10. are ſo many proofs of this aſſertion. No maxim ſeems to be more certain than this, that a forger is often apt to prove too much, but ſeldom falls into the error of proving too little. The point which the queen's enemies had to eſtabliſh was, "that as the earl of Bothwell was chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder perpetrated, &c. ſo was ſhe of the foreknowledge, council, deviſe, perſuader, and commander of the ſaid murder to be done." Good. ii. 207. But of this there are only imperfect hints, obſcure intimations, and dark expreſſions in the letters, which, however convincing evidence they might furniſh if found in real letters, bear no reſemblance to that glare and ſuperfluity of evidence which forgeries commonly contain. All the advocates for Mary's innocence in her own age, contend that there is nothing in the letters which can ſerve as a proof of her guilt. Leſly, Blackwood, Turner, &c. abound with paſſages to this purpoſe; nor are the ſentiments of thoſe in the preſent age different. "Yet ſtill it might have been expected (ſays her lateſt defender) that ſome one or other of the points or articles of the accuſation ſhould be made out clearly by the proof. But nothing of that is to be ſeen in the preſent caſe. There is nothing in the letters that could plainly ſhew the writer to have been in the foreknowledge, council, or device of any murder, far leſs to have perſuaded or commanded it; and as little is there about maintaining or juſtifying any murderers." Good. i. 76. How ill-adviſed were Mary's adverſaries to contract ſo much guilt, and to practiſe ſo many artifices, in order to forge letters, which are ſo ill contrived for eſtabliſhing the concluſion they had in view!

Had they been ſo baſe as to have recourſe to forgery, is it not natural to think that they would have produced ſomething more explicit and deciſive? As it is almoſt impoſſible to invent a long narration conſiſting of many circumſtances and to connect it in ſuch a manner with real facts, that no mark of fraud ſhall appear. For this reaſon, ſkilful forgers avoid any long detail of circumſtances, eſpecially of foreign and ſuperfluous ones, well knowing that the more theſe are multiplied, the more are the chances of detection increaſed. Now Mary's letters, eſpecially the firſt, are filled with a multiplicity of circumſtances, extremely natural in a real correſpondence, but altogether foreign to the purpoſe of the queen's enemies, and which it would have been perfect folly to have inſerted, if they had been altogether imaginary, and without foundation. 3. The truth and reality of ſeveral circumſtances in the letters, and theſe, too, of no very public nature, are confirmed by undoubted collateral evidence. Lett. 1. Good. ii. 1. The queen is ſaid to have met one of Lennox's gentlemen, and to have had ſome converſation with him. Thomas Crawford, who was the perſon, appeared before Elizabeth's commiſſioners, and confirmed, upon oath, the truth of this circumſtance. He likewiſe declared, that during the queen's ſtay at Glaſgow, the king repeated to him, every night, whatever had paſſed through the day, between her majeſty and him; and that the account given of theſe converſations in the firſt letter, is nearly the ſame with what the king communicated to him. Good. ii. 245. According to the ſame letter there was much diſcourſe between the king and queen concerning Mynto, Hiegait, and Walcar. Good. ii. 8, 10, 11. What this might be, was altogether unknown, until a letter of Mary's, preſerved in the Scottiſh college at Paris, and publiſhed, Keith, Pref. vii. diſcovered it to be an affair of ſo much importance as merited all the attention ſhe paid to it at that time. It appears by a letter from the French ambaſſador, that Mary was ſubject to a violent pain in her ſide. Keith, ibid. This circumſtance is mentioned, Lett. 1. p. 30. in a manner ſo natural as can ſcarcely belong to any but

a genuine production. 4. If we ſhall ſtill think it probable to ſuppoſe that ſo many real circumſtances were artfully introduced into the letters by the forgers, in order to give an air of authenticity to their production; it will ſcarce be poſſible to hold the ſame opinion concerning the following particular. Before the queen began her firſt letter to Bothwell, ſhe, as uſual among thoſe who write long letters concerning a variety of ſubjects, made *notes* or *memorandums* of the particulars ſhe wiſhed to remember; but as ſhe ſat up writing a great part of the night, and after her attendants were aſleep, her paper failed her, and ſhe continued her letter upon the ſame ſheet on which ſhe had formerly made her memorandums. This ſhe herſelf takes notice of, and makes an apology for it; "It is late; I deſire never to ceaſe from writing unto you, yet now, after the kiſſing of your hands, I will end my letter. Excuſe my evil writing, and read it twice over. Excuſe that thing that is ſcriblit, for I had na paper zeſterday, quhen I wraite that of the memorial." Good. ii. 28. Theſe memorandums ſtill appear in the middle of the letter; and what we have ſaid ſeems naturally to account for the manner how they might find their way into a real letter. It is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed, however, that any forger would think of placing memorandums in the middle of a letter where at firſt ſight, they make ſo abſurd and ſo unnatural an appearance. But if any ſhall ſtill carry their refinement ſo far as to ſuppoſe that the forgers were ſo artful as to throw in this circumſtance, in order to preſerve the appearance of genuineneſs, they muſt at leaſt allow that the queen's enemies, who employed theſe forgers, could not be ignorant of the deſign and meaning of theſe ſhort notes and memorandums; but we find them miſtaking them ſo far as to imagine that they were the *credit of the bearer*, i. e. points concerning which the queen had given him verbal inſtructions. Good. ii. 152. This they cannot poſſibly be; for the queen herſelf writes with ſo much exactneſs concerning the different points in the memorandums, that there was no need of giving any credit or inſtructions to the bearer concerning them. The memorandums are in-

deed the *contents* of the letter. 5. Mary mentioning her converſation with the king, about the affair of Mynto, Hiegait &c. ſays, "The morne, (i. e. to-morrow) I will ſpeik to him upon that point; and then adds, "As to the reſt of Wille Hiegait's, he confeſſit it; but it was the morne (i. e. the morning) after my coming or he did it." Good. ii. 9. This addition, which could not have been made till after the converſation happened, ſeems either to have been inſerted by the queen into the body of the letter; or, perhaps, ſhe having written it on the margin, it was taken thence into the text. If we ſuppoſe the letter to be a real one, and written at different times, as it plainly bears, this circumſtance appears to be very natural; but no reaſon could have induced a forger to have ventured upon ſuch an anachroniſm, for which there was no neceſſity. An addition perfectly ſimilar to this made to a genuine paper, may be found. Good. ii. 282.

But, on the other hand, Mary herſelf, and the advocates for her innocence, have contended, that theſe letters were forged by her enemies, on purpoſe to blaſt her reputation, and juſtify their own rebellion. It is not neceſſary to take notice of the arguments which were produced, in her own age, in ſupport of this opinion; the obſervations which we have already made, contain a full reply to them. An author, who has inquired into the affairs of that period with great induſtry, and who has acquired much knowledge of them, has publiſhed (as he affirms) a demonſtration of the forgery of Mary's letters. This demonſtration he founds upon evidence both internal and external. With regard to the former he obſerves, that the French copy of the queen's letters is plainly a tranſlation of Buchanan's Latin copy; and by conſequence, the aſſertion of the queen's enemies, which Latin copy is only a tranſlation of the Scottiſh copy; that ſhe wrote them originally in French is altogether groundleſs, and the whole letters are groſs forgeries. He accounts for this ſtrange ſucceſſion of tranſlations, by ſuppoſing that when the forgery was projected, no perſon could be found capable of writing originally in the French lan-

guage letters which would paſs for the queen's; for that reaſon they were firſt compoſed in Scottiſh; but unluckily the French interpreter, it would ſeem, did not underſtand that language; and therefore Buchanan tranſlated them into Latin; and from this Latin they were rendered into French. Good. i. 79. 80.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that no proof whatever is produced of any of theſe ſuppoſitions. The manners of the Scots in that age, when almoſt every man of rank ſpent a part of his youth in France, and the intercourſe between the two nations was great, render it altogether improbable that ſo many complicated operations ſhould be neceſſary in order to procure a few letters to be written in the French language.

But without inſiſting farther on this, we may obſerve that all this author's premiſes may be granted, and yet his concluſion will not follow, unleſs he likewiſe prove that the French letters, as we now have them, are a true copy of thoſe which were produced by Murray and his party in the Scottiſh parliament, and at York and Weſtminſter. But this he has not attempted; and if we attend to the hiſtory of the letters, ſuch an attempt, it is obvious muſt have been unſucceſsful. The letters were firſt publiſhed at the end of Buchanan's *Detection*. The firſt edition of this treatiſe was in Latin, in which language three of the queen's letters were ſubjoined to it; this Latin edition was printed A. D. 1571. Soon after, a Scottiſh tranſlation of it was publiſhed, and at the end of it were printed, likewiſe in Scottiſh, the three letters which had formerly appeared in Latin, and five other letters in Scottiſh, which were not in the Latin edition. Next appeared a French tranſlation of the Detection, and of ſeven of the letters; this bears to have been printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Waltem, 1572. The name of the place, as well as the printer, is allowed by all parties to be a manifeſt impoſture. Our author, from obſerving the day of the month, from which the printing is ſaid to have been finiſhed, has aſſerted that this edition was printed at London; but no ſtreſs can be laid upon a date found in a book, where every other circumſtance with regard to the printing is

allowed to be falſe. Blackwood, who (next to Leſly) was the beſt informed of all Mary's advocates in that age, affirms, that the French edition of the Detection was publiſhed in France: "Il [Buchanan] a depuis adjouſté a ceſte declamation un petit libelle du pretendu mariage du duc de Norfolk, et de la façon de ſon proces, et la tout envoyé aux freres a la Rochelle, leſquels voyants qu'il pouvoit ſervir a la cauſe, l'ont traduit en François, et iceluy fut imprimée a Edinbourg, c'eſt a dire a la Rochelle, par Thomas Waltem, nom apoſté et fait a plaiſir. Martyre de Marie. Jebb, ii. 256." The author of the *Innocence de Marie* goes farther, and names the French tranſlator of the Detection, "Et icelui premierement compoſé (comme il ſemble par George Buchanan Eſcoſſoys, et depuis traduit en langue Françoiſe par un Hugonot, Poiteven (advocat de vocation) Camuz, ſoi diſant gentilhomme, et un de plus remarquez ſediteuz de France. Jebb, i. 425, 443." The concurring teſtimony of two contemporary authors, whoſe reſidence in France afforded them ſufficient means of information, muſt outweigh a ſlight conjecture. This French tranſlator does not pretend to publiſh the original French letters as written by the queen herſelf; he expreſly declares that he tranſlated them from the Latin. Good. i. 103. Had our author attended to all theſe circumſtances, he might have ſaved himſelf the labour of ſo many criticiſms to prove that the preſent French copy of the letters is a tranſlation from the Latin. The French editor himſelf acknowledges it, and, ſo far as I know, no perſon ever denied it.

We may obſerve, that the French tranſlator was ſo ignorant, as to affirm that Mary had written theſe letters, partly in French, partly in Scottiſh. Good. i. 103. Had this tranſlation been publiſhed at London by Cecil, or had it been made by his direction, ſo groſs an error would not have been admitted into it. This error, however, was owing to an odd circumſtance. In the Scottiſh tranſlation of the Detection, there was prefixed to each letter two or three ſentences of the ori-

ginal French, which breaking off with an &c. the Scottiſh tranſlation of the whole followed. This method of printing tranſlations was not uncommon in that age. The French editor obſerving this, fooliſhly concluded that the letters had been written partly in French, partly in Scottiſh.

If we carefully conſider thoſe few French ſentences of each letter, which ſtill remain, and apply to them that ſpecies of criticiſm, by which our author has examined the whole, a clear proof will ariſe, that there was a French copy not tranſlated from the Latin, but which was itſelf the original from which both the Latin and Scottiſh have been tranſlated. This minute criticiſm muſt neceſſarily be diſagreeable to many readers; but luckily a few ſentences only are to be examined, which will render it extremely ſhort.

In the firſt letter, the French ſentence prefixed to it ends with theſe words, *y faiſoit bon.* It is plain this expreſſion, *veu ce que peut un corps ſans cœur*, is by no means a tranſlation of *cum plane perinde eſſem atque corpus ſine corde.* The whole ſentence has a ſpirit and elegance in the French, which neither the Latin nor Scottiſh have retained. *Juſques a la dinée* is not a tranſlation of *toto prandii tempore;* the Scottiſh tranſlation, *quhile denner-time*, expreſſes the ſenſe of the French more properly; for anciently *quhile* ſignified *until* as well as *during. Je n'ay pas tenu grand propos* is not juſtly rendered *neque contulerim ſermonem cum quoquam;* the phraſe uſed in the French copy is one peculiar to that language, and gives a more probable account of her behaviour than the other. *Jugeant bien qu'il n'y faiſoit bon*, is not a tranſlation of *ut qui judicarent id non eſſe ex uſu.* The French ſentence prefixed to lett. 2. ends with *apprendre.* It is evident that both the Latin and Scottiſh tranſlations have omitted altogether theſe words, *et toutefois je ne puis apprendre.* The French ſentence prefixed to lett. 3. ends with *preſenter. J'aye veillé plus tard la haut* is plainly no tranſlation of *diutius illic morata ſum;* the ſenſe of the French is better expreſſed by the Scottiſh *I have walkit later thairup.* Again, *Pour excuſer voſtre affaire* is very different from *ad excuſandum noſtra negotia.* The five remaining letters never ap-

peared in Latin; nor is there any proof of their being ever tranſlated into that language. Four of them, however are publiſhed in French. This entirely overturns our author's hypotheſis concerning the neceſſity of a tranſlation into Latin.

In the Scottiſh edition of the Detection the whole *ſonnet* is printed in French as well as in Scottiſh. It is not poſſible to believe that this Scottiſh copy could be the original from which the French was tranſlated. The French conſiſts of verſes which have both meaſure and rhyme, and which, in many places, are far from being inelegant. The Scottiſh conſiſts of an equal number of lines, but without meaſure or rhyme. Now no man could ever think of a thing ſo abſurd and impracticable, as to require one to tranſlate a certain given number of lines in proſe, into an equal number of verſes, where both meaſure and rhyme were to be obſerved. The Scottiſh, on the contrary, appears manifeſtly to be a tranſlation of the French; the phraſes, the idioms, and many of the words are French, and not Scottiſh. Beſides, the Scottiſh tranſlator has, in ſeveral inſtances, miſtaken the ſenſe of the French, and in many more expreſſes the ſenſe imperfectly. Had the ſonnet been forged, this could not have happened. The directors of the fraud would have underſtood their own work. I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with one example, in which there is a proof of both my aſſertions, Stanza viii. 9.

Pour luy j'attendz toute bonne fortune,
Pour luy je veux garder ſantè et vie,
Pour luy tout vertu de ſuivre j'ay envie.

For him I attend all good fortune,
For him I will conſerve helthe and lyfe,
For him I deſire to enſue courage.

Attend in the firſt line is not a Scottiſh, but a French phraſe; the two other lines do not expreſs the ſenſe of the French, and the laſt is abſolute nonſenſe.

The eighth letter was never tranſlated into French. It contains much refined myſticiſm about *devices*, a folly of that age, of which Mary was very fond, as appears from ſeveral other circumſtances, particularly from a

letter concerning *impreſas* by Drummond of Hawthornden. If Mary's adverſaries forged her letters, they were certainly employed very idly when they produced this.

From theſe obſervations it ſeems to be evident that there was a French copy of Mary's letters, of which the Latin and Scottiſh were only tranſlations. Nothing now remains of this copy but thoſe few ſentences, which are prefixed to the Scottiſh tranſlation. The French editor laid hold of thoſe ſentences, and tacked his own tranſlation to them, which, ſo far as it is his work, is a ſervile and a very wretched tranſlation of Buchanan's Latin; whereas in thoſe introductory ſentences, we have diſcovered ſtrong marks of their being originals, and certain proofs that they are not tranſlated from the Latin.

It is apparent, too, from comparing the Latin and Scottiſh tranſlations with theſe ſentences, that the Scottiſh tranſlator has more perfectly attained the ſenſe and ſpirit of the French than the Latin. And as it appears, that the letters were very early tranſlated into Scottiſh, Good. ii. 76; it is probable that Buchanan made his tranſlation, not from the French, but from the Scottiſh copy. Were it neceſſary, ſeveral critical proofs of this might be produced. One that has been already mentioned ſeems deciſive. *Diutius illic morato ſum* bears not the leaſt reſemblance to *j'ay veillé plus tard la haut*; but if, inſtead of *I walkit* [i. e. watched] *laiter there up*, we ſuppoſe that Buchanan read *I waitit*, &c. this miſtake, into which he might ſo eaſily have fallen, accounts for the error in his tranſlation.

Theſe criticiſms, however minute, appear to be well founded. But whatever opinion may be formed concerning them, the other arguments, with regard to the internal evdence, remain in full force.

The external proofs of the forgery of the queen's letters, which our author has produced, is extremely ſpecious, but are not more ſolid than that which we have already examined. According to Murray's Diary, Mary ſet out from Edinburgh to Glaſgow, January 21, 1567; ſhe arrived there on the 23d; left that place on the 27th; ſhe, together with the king, reached Linlithgow on the

28th, ſtaid in that town only one night, and returned to Edinburgh before the end of the month. But, according to our author, the queen did not leave Edinburgh until Friday January 24th; as ſhe ſtaid a night at Callendar, ſhe could not reach Glaſgow ſooner than the evening of Saturday the 25th, and ſhe returned to Linlithgow on Tueſday the 28th. By conſequence, the firſt letter, which ſuppoſes the queen to have been at leaſt four days in Glaſgow, as well as the ſecond letter, which bears date at Glaſgow, *Saturday morning*, whereas ſhe did not arrive there until the evening, muſt be forgeries. That the queen did not ſet out from Edinburgh ſooner than the 24th of January, is evident (as he contends) from the public records, which contain a *Precept of a confirmation of a life-rent* by James Boyd to Margaret Chalmers, granted by the queen, on the 24th of January at Edinburgh; and likewiſe a letter of the queen's dated at Edinburgh on the ſame day, appointing James Inglis taylor to the prince her ſon. That the king and queen had returned to Linlithgow on the 28th, appears from a deed, in which they appoint Andrew Ferrier keeper of their palace there, dated at Linlithgow, January 28th, Good. i. 118.

This has been repreſented to be not only a convincing, but a legal proof of the forgery of the letters ſaid to be written by Mary; but how far it falls ſhort of this will appear from the following conſiderations:

1. It is evident, from a declaration or confeſſion made by the biſhop of Roſs, that before the conferences at York, which were opened in the beginning of Oct. 1568, Mary had, by an artifice of Maitland's got into her hands a copy of thoſe letters which her ſubjects accuſed her of having written to Bothwell. Brown's trial of the duke of Norfolk, 31, 36. It is highly probable that the biſhop of Roſs had ſeen the letters before he wrote the defence of queen Mary's honour in the year 1570. They were publiſhed to all the world, together with Buchanan's Detection, A. D. 1571. Now, if they had contained an error ſo groſs, and, at that time, ſo

obvious to diſcover, as the ſuppoſing the queen to have paſſed ſeveral days at Glaſgow, while ſhe was really at Edinburgh; had they contained a letter dated at Glaſgow, Saturday morning, though ſhe did not arrive there till the evening; is it poſſible that ſhe herſelf, who knew her own motions, or the able and zealous advocates who appeared for her in that age, ſhould not have publiſhed and expoſed this contradiction, and, by ſo doing, have blaſted at once the credit of ſuch an impoſture? In diſquiſitions which are naturally abſtruſe and intricate, the ingenuity of the lateſt author may diſcover many things which have eſcaped the attention, or baffled the ſagacity of thoſe who have formerly conſidered the ſame ſubject. But when a matter of fact lay ſo obvious to view, this circumſtance of its being unobſerved by the queen herſelf, or by any of her adherents, is almoſt a demonſtration that there is ſome miſtake or fallacy in our author's arguments. So far are any, either of our hiſtorians, or of Mary's defenders, from calling in queſtion the common account concerning the time of the queen's ſetting out to Glaſgow, and her returning from it, that there is not the leaſt appearance of any difference among them with regard to this point. But farther,

2. Thoſe papers in the public records, on which our author reſts the proof of his aſſertion concerning the queen's motions, are not the originals ſubſcribed by the queen, but copies only, or tranſlations of copies of thoſe originals. It is not neceſſary, nor would it be very eaſy to render this intelligible to perſons unacquainted with the forms of law in Scotland; but every Scotſman converſant in buſineſs will underſtand me when I ſay that the precept of confirmation of the life-rent to Boyd is only a Latin copy or note of a precept, which was ſealed with the privy-ſeal, on a warrant from the ſignet office, proceeding on a ſignature which bore date at Edinburgh the 24th of January; and that the deed in favour of James Inglis is the copy of a letter, ſealed with the privy ſeal, proceeding on a ſignature which bore date at Edinburgh January 24th. From all this we may argue with ſome degree of reaſon, that a proof

founded on papers which are ſo many removes diſtant from the originals, cannot but be very lame and uncertain.

3. At that time all public papers were iſſued in the name both of the king and queen; by law, the king's ſubſcription was no leſs requiſite to any paper than the queen's; and therefore unleſs the original ſignatures be produced, in order to aſcertain the particular day when each of them ſigned, or to prove that it was ſigned only by one of them, the legal proof ariſing from theſe papers would be, that both the king and queen ſigned them at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

4. The dates of the warrants or precepts iſſued by the ſovereign, in that age, ſeem to have been in a great meaſure arbitrary, and affixed at the pleaſure of the writer; and of conſequence, theſe dates were ſeldom accurate, are often falſe, and can never be relied upon. This abuſe became ſo frequent, and was found to be ſo pernicious, that an act of parliament A. D. 1592, declared the fixing a falſe date to a ſignature to be high treaſon.

5. There ſtill remain, in the public records, a great number of papers, which prove the neceſſity of this law, as well as the fallacy of our author's arguments. And though it be no eaſy matter, at the diſtance of two centuries, to prove any particular date to be falſe, yet ſurpriſing inſtances of this kind ſhall be produced. Nothing is more certain from hiſtory, than that the king was at Glaſgow, Jan. 24, 1567; and yet the record of ſignatures from 1565 to 1582, fol. 16, contains the copy of a ſignature to Archibald Edmonſton, ſaid to have been ſubſcribed by *our ſovereigns*, i. e. the king and queen, at Edinburgh, January 24, 1567; ſo that if we were to truſt implicitly upon the dates in the records of that age, or to hold our author's argument to be good, it would prove that not only the queen, but the king too, was at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

It appears from an original letter of the biſhop of Roſs, that on the 25th of October 1566, Mary lay at the point of death; Keith, App. 134; and yet a deed is to be found in the public records, which bears that it

was ſigned by the queen that day. Privy ſeal, lib. 35. fol. 89. *Ouchterlony.*

Bothwell ſeized the queen as ſhe returned from Stirling, April 24th, 1567, and (according to her own account) conducted her to Dunbar with all diligence. And. i. 95. But our author, relying on the dates of ſome papers which he found in the records, ſuppoſes that Bothwell allowed her to ſtop at Edinburgh, and to tranſact buſineſs there. Nothing can be more improbable than this ſuppoſition. We may therefore rank the date of the deed to *Wright*, Privy ſeal, lib. 36. fol. 43. and which is mentioned by our author, vol. i. 124. among the inſtances of the falſe dates of papers which were iſſued in the ordinary courſe of buſineſs in that age. Our author has miſtaken the date of the other paper to Forbes, ibid. it is ſigned April 14th, not April 24th.

If there be any point agreed upon in Mary's hiſtory, it is that ſhe remained at Dunbar from the time that Bothwell carried her thither, till ſhe returned to Edinburgh along with him in the beginning of May. Our author himſelf allows that ſhe reſided twelve days there, vol. i. 367. Now though there are deeds in the records which bear that they were ſigned by the queen at Dunbar during that time, yet there are others which bear that they were ſigned at Edinburgh; e. g. there is one at Edinburgh, April 27th, Privy ſeal, lib. 36. fol. 97. There are others ſaid to be ſigned at Dunbar on that day. Lib. 31. Chart. No. 524, 520. Ib. lib. 32. No. 154, 157. There are ſome ſigned at Dunbar, April 28th. Others at Edinburgh, April 30th, lib. 32. Chart. No 492. Others at Dunbar, May 1ſt Id. ibid. No. 158. Theſe different charters ſuppoſe the queen to have made ſo many unknown, improbable, and inconſiſtent journeys, that they afford the cleareſt demonſtration that the dates in theſe records ought not to be depended on.

This becomes more evident from the date of the charter ſaid to be ſigned April 27th, which happened that year to be a Sunday, which was not, at that time, a day of buſineſs in Scotland, as appears from the books of *ſederunt*, then kept by the lords of ſeſſion,

From this ſhort review of our author's proof of the forgery of the letters to Bothwell, it is evident that his arguments are far from amounting to demonſtration.

Another argument againſt the genuineneſs of theſe letters is founded on the ſtyle and compoſition, which are ſaid to be altogether unworthy of the queen, and unlike her real productions. It is plain, both from the great accuracy of compoſition in moſt of Mary's letters, and even from her ſolicitude to write them in a fair hand, that ſhe valued herſelf on thoſe accompliſhments, and was deſirous of being eſteemed an elegant writer. But when ſhe wrote at any time in a hurry, then many marks of inaccuracy appear. A remarkable inſtance of this may be found in a paper publiſhed, Good. ii. 301. Mary's letters to Bothwell were written in the utmoſt hurry; and yet under all the diſadvantages of a tranſlation, they are not deſtitute either of ſpirit or of energy. The manner in which ſhe expreſſes her love to Bothwell has been pronounced indecent and even ſhocking. But Mary's temper led her to warm expreſſions of her regard; thoſe refinements of delicacy which now appear in all the commerce between the ſexes, were in that age, but little known, even among perſons of the higheſt rank. Among the earl of Hardewicke's papers, there is a ſeries of letters, from Mary to the duke of Norfolk, copied from the Harleian library, p. 37. b. 9. fol. 88. in which Mary declares her love to that nobleman in language which would now be reckoned extremely indelicate; Hard. State Papers, i. 189, &c.

Some of Mary's letters to Bothwell were written before the murder of her huſband; ſome of them after that event, and before her marriage to Bothwell. Thoſe which are prior to the death of her huſband abound with the fondeſt expreſſions of her love to Bothwell, and excite ſomething more than a ſuſpicion that their familiarity had been extremely criminal. We find in them, too, ſome dark expreſſions which her enemies employed to prove that ſhe was no ſtranger to the ſchemes which were formed againſt her husband's life Of this kind are the following paſſages; "Alace! I

nevir diſſavit ony body; Bot I remit me altogidder to zour will. Send me advertiſement quhat I ſall do, and quhatſaever thing come thereof I ſall obey sow. Adviſe to with zourſelf, gif ze can find out any mair ſecret inventioun by medicine, for he ſuld tak medicine and the bath at Craigmillar." Good. ii. 22. "See not hir quhais fenzeit teiris ſuld not be ſa meikle praisit and eſtemit, as the trew and faithful travellis quhilk I ſuſtene for to merit her place. For obtaining of the quhilk, aganis my natural, I betrayis thame that may impeſche me. God forgive me", &c. Ibid. 27. "I have walkit later thairup, than I wad have done, gif it had not been to draw ſomething out of him, quhilk this berer will ſchaw zow, quhilk is the faireſt commodity that can be offerit to excuſe zour affairs." Ibid. 32. From the letters poſterior to the death of her huſband, it is evident that the ſcheme, of Bothwell's ſeizing Mary by force, and carrying her along with him, was contrived in concert with herſelf, and with her approbation*.

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* That letters of ſo much importance as thoſe of Mary to Bothwell ſhould have been entirely loſt, appears to many altogether unaccountable. After being produced in England before Elizabeth's commiſſioners, they were delivered back by them to the earl of Murray. Good. ii. 235. He ſeems to have kept them in his poſſeſſion during life. After his death, they fell into the hands of Lennox his ſucceſſor, who reſtored them to the earl of Morton. Good. ii. 91. Though it be not neceſſarily connected with any of the queſtions which gave occaſion to this Diſſertation, it may perhaps ſatisfy the curioſity of ſome of my readers to inform them, that, after a very diligent ſearch, which has lately been made, no copy of Mary's letters to Bothwell can be found in any of the public libraries in Great Britain. The only certain intelligence concerning them ſince the time of their being delivered to Morton, was communicated by the accurate Dr. Birch.

Extract of the letters of Robert Bowes, eſq. ambaſſador from queen Elizabeth to the king of Scotland,

Having thus ſtated the proof on both ſides; having examined at ſo great a length the different ſyſtems

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written to ſir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, from the original regiſter book of Mr. Bowes's letters from 15th of Auguſt 1582, to 28th of September 1583, in the poſſeſſion of Chriſtopher Hunter, M. D. of Durham.

1582, 8th November, from Edinburgh.

Albeit I have been borne in hand, that the coffer wherein were the originals of letters between the Scottiſh queen and the earl of Bothwell, had been delivered to ſundry hands, and thereby was at preſent wanting, ane unknown where it reſted, yet I have learned certainly by the prior of Pluſcardyne's means, that both the coffer and alſo the writings are come, and now remain with the earl of Gowrie, who, I perceive, will be hardly intreated to make delivery to her majeſty according to her majeſty's deſire.

This time paſt I have expended in ſearching where the coffer and writings were, wherein, without the help of the prior I ſhould have found great difficulty; now I will eſſay Gowrie, and of my ſucceſs you ſhall be ſhortly advertiſed.

12th of November, 1582, from Edinburgh.

Becauſe I had both learned, that the caſket and letters mentioned in my laſt, before theſe were come to the poſſeſſion of the earl of Gowrie, and alſo found that no mean might prevail to win the ſame out of his hands without his own conſent and privity; in which behalf I had employed fit inſtruments, that nevertheleſs profited nothing; therefore I attempted to eſſay himſelf, letting him know that the ſaid caſket and letters ſhould have been brought to her majeſty by the offer and good means of good friends, promiſing to have delivered them to her majeſty before they came into his hands and cuſtody, and knowing that he did bear the like affection, and was ready to pleaſure her majeſty in all things, and chiefly in this that had been thus far tendered to her majeſty, and which thereby ſhould be well accepted, and with princely thanks and gratuity be

with regard to the facts in controverſy; it may be expected that I ſhould now pronounce ſentence. In my

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requited to his comfort and contentment; I moved him that they might be a preſent to be ſent to her majeſty from him, and that I might cauſe the ſame to be conveyed to her majeſty, adding hereunto ſuch words and arguments as might both ſtir up a hope of liberality, and alſo beſt effect the purpoſe. At the firſt he was loth to agree that they were in his poſſeſſion; but I let him plainly know that I was certainly informed that they were delivered to him by Sanders Jardin; whereupon he preſſed to know who did ſo inform on me, inquiring whether the ſons of the earl of Morton had done it or no. I did not otherwiſe in plain terms deny or anſwer thereunto, but that he might think that he had told me, as the prior is ready to avouch, and well pleaſed that I ſhall give him to be the author thereof; after he had ſaid (though) all theſe letters were in his keeping (which he would neither grant nor deny) yet he might not deliver them to any perſon without the conſent and privities, as well of the king, that had intereſt therein, as alſo of the reſt of the noblemen enterpriſers of the action againſt the king's mother, and that would have them kept as an evidence to warrant and make good that action. And albeit I replied, that their action in that part touching the aſſignation of the crown to the king by his mother, had received ſuch eſtabliſhment, confirmation, and ſtrength, by acts of parliament and other public authority and inſtruments as neither ſhould that caſe be ſuffered to come in debate or queſtion, nor ſuch ſcrolls and papers ought to be ſhewed for the ſtrengthening thereof, ſo as theſe might well be left and be rendered to the hands of her majeſty, to whom they were deſtined before they fell in his keeping; yet he would not be removed or ſatisfied; concluding, after much reaſonings, that the earl of Morton, nor any other that had the charge and keeping thereof, durſt at any time make delivery; and becauſe it was the firſt time that I had moved him therein, and that he would gladly both anſwer her majeſty a good

opinion, there are only two concluſions, which can be drawn from the facts which have been enumerated.

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expectation in him, and alſo perform his duty due to his ſovereign and aſſociates in the action aforeſaid; therefore he would ſeek out the ſaid caſket and letters, at his return to his houſe, which he thought ſhould be within a ſhort time, and upon finding of the ſame, and better advice and conſideration had of the cauſe, he would give further anſwer. This reſolution I have received as to the thing; and for the preſent I could not better, leaving him to give her majeſty ſuch teſtimony of his good will towards her, by his frank dealing herein, as ſhe may have cauſe to confirm her highneſſes good opinion conceived already of him, and be thereby drawn to greater goodneſs towards him. I ſhall ſtill labour him both by myſelf and alſo by all other means; but I greatly diſtruſt the deſired ſucceſs herein.

24th of November 1582, from Edinburgh.

For the recovery of the letters in the coffer, come to the hands of the earl of Gowrie, I have lately moved him earneſtly therein, letting him know the purpoſe of the Scottiſh queen, both giving out that the letters are counterfeited by her rebels, and alſo ſeeking thereon to have them delivered to her or defaced, and that the means which ſhe will make in this behalf ſhall be ſo great and effectual, as theſe writings cannot be ſafely kept in that realm without dangerous offence of him that hath the cuſtody thereof, neither ſhall he that is once known to have them be ſuffered to hold them in his hands. Herewith I have at large opened the perils likely to fall to that action. And the parties therein, and particularly to himſelf that is now openly known to have the poſſeſſion of theſe writings, and I have letting him ſee what ſurety it ſhall bring to the ſaid cauſe, and all the parties therein, and to himſelf, that theſe writings may be with ſecrecy and good order committed to the keeping of her majeſty, that will have them ready whenſoever any uſe ſhall be for them, and by her highneſſes countenance defend them and the parties

One, that Bothwell, prompted by his ambition or love, encouraged by the queen's known averſion to her

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from ſuch wrongful objections as ſhall be laid againſt them, offering at length to him, that if he be not fully ſatisfied herein, or doubt that the reſt of the aſſociates ſhall not like of the delivery of them to her majeſty in this good manner, and for the intereſt rehearſed, that I ſhall readily, upon meeting and conference with them, procure their aſſent in this part (a matter more eaſy to offer than to perform); and laſtly, moving him that (for the ſecrecy and benefit of the cauſe, and that her majeſty's good opinion towards himſelf may be firmly ſettled and confirmed by his acceptable forwardneſs herein) he would, without needleſs ſcruple, frankly commit theſe writings to her majeſty's good cuſtody for the good uſes received. After long debate he reſolved, and ſaid, that he would unfeignedly ſhew and do to her majeſty all the pleaſure that he might without offence to the king his ſovereign, and prejudice to the aſſociates in the action, and therefore he would firſt make ſearch and view the ſaid letters, and herein take advice what he might do, and how far he might ſatisfy and content her majeſty; promiſing thereon to give more reſolute anſwer; and he concluded flatly, that after he had found and ſeen the writings that he might not make delivery of them without the privity of the king. Albeit I ſtood long with him againſt his reſolution in this point, to acquaint the king with this matter before the letters were in the hands of her majeſty, letting him ſee that his doings there ſhould admit great danger to the cauſe; yet I could not remove him from it. It may be that he meaneth to put over the matter from himſelf to the king, upon ſight whereof I ſhall travel effectually to obtain the king's conſent; that the letters may be committed to her majeſty's keeping thinking it more eaſy to prevail herein with the king, in the preſent love and affection that he beareth to her highneſs, than to win any thing at the hands of the aſſociates in the action, whereof ſome principal of them now come and remain at the devotion of the king's mo-

huſband, and preſuming on her attachment to himſelf, ſtruck the blow without having concerted with her the manner or circumſtances of perpetrating that crime. That Mary, inſtead of teſtifying much indignation at the deed, or diſcovering any reſentment againſt Bothwell, who was accuſed of having committed it, continued to load him with marks of her regard, conducted his trial in ſuch a manner as rendered it impoſſible to diſcover his guilt, and ſoon after, in oppoſition to all the maxims of decency or of prudence, voluntarily agreed to a marriage with him, which every conſideration ſhould have induced her to deteſt. By this ver-

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ther; in this I ſhall ſtill call on Gowrie, to ſearch out the coffer, according to his promiſe; and as I ſhall find him minded to do therein, ſo ſhall I do my beſt and whole endeavour to effect the ſucceſs to her majeſty's beſt contentment.

2d December, 1587, from Edinburgh.

Becauſe I ſaw good opportunity offered to renew the matter to the earl of Gowrie for recovery of the letters in the coffer in his hands, therefore I put him in mind thereof; whereupon he told me, that the duke of Lennox had ſought earneſtly to have had thoſe letters, and that the king did know where they were, ſo as they could not be delivered to her majeſty without the king's privity and conſent, and he pretended to be ſtill willing to pleaſure her majeſty in the ſame, ſo far as he may with his duty to the king and to the reſt of the aſſociates in that action; but I greatly diſtruſt to effect this to her majeſty's pleaſure, wherein nevertheleſs I ſhall do my utmoſt endeavours.

Whether James VI. who put the earl of Gowrie to death, A. D. 1584, and ſeized all his effects, took care to deſtroy his mother's letters, for whoſe honour he was at that time extremely zealous; whether they have periſhed by ſome unknown accident; or whether they may not ſtill remain unobſerved among the archives of ſome of our great families, it is impoſſible to determine.

dict, Mary is not pronounced guilty of having contrived the murder of her husband, or even of having previously given her consent to his death; but she is not acquitted of having discovered her approbation of the deed, by her behaviour towards him who was the author of it.

The other conclusion is that which Murray and his adherents laboured to establish, "That James, sometymme earl of Bothwile, was the chiefe executor of the horribill and unworthy murder, perpetrat in the person of umquhile king Henry of gude memory, fader to our soveraine lord, and the queenis lauchfull husband; sa was she of the foreknowledge, counsall, devise, perswuader and command of the said murder to be done." Good. ii. 207.

Which of these conclusions is most agreeable to the evidence that has been produced, I leave my readers to determine.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (page 126.)

A MEMORIAL of certain points meet for reſtoring the realm of SCOTLAND *to the ancient weale.*

(5th Auguſt 1559, Cotton. Lib. Cal. b. x. fol. 17. From a copy in ſecretary Cecil's hand.)

IMPRIMIS, it is to be noted, that the beſt wordly felicity that Scotland can have, is either to continue in a perpetual peace with the kingdom of England, or to be made one monarchy with England, as they both make but one iſland, divided from the reſt of the world.

If the firſt is ſought, that is, to be in perpetual peace with England, then muſt it neceſſarily be provided that Scotland be not ſo ſubject to the appointments of France as is preſently, which, being an ancient enemy to England, ſeeketh always to make Scotland an inſtrument, to exerciſe, thereby, their malice upon England, and to make a footſtool thereof to look over England as they may.

Therefore, when Scotland ſhall come into the hands of a mere Scottiſh man in blood, then may there be hope of ſuch accord; but as long as it is at the commandment of the French, there is no hope to have accord long betwixt theſe two realms.

Therefore ſeeing it is at the French king's commandment by reaſon of his wife, it is to be conſidered for the weale of Scotland, that until ſhe have children, and during her abſence out of the realm, the next heirs to the crown, being the houſe of the Hamiltons, ſhould have regard hereto, and to ſee that neither the crown be impoſed nor waſted; and, on the other ſide, the nobility and commonalty ought to force that the laws and

the old cuſtoms of the realm be not altered, neither that the country be not impoveriſhed by taxes, empreſt, or new impoſts, after the manner of France; for proviſion wherein, both by the law of God and man, the French king and his wife may be moved to reform their miſgovernance of the land.

And for this purpoſe it were good that the nobility and commons, joined with the next heir of the crown, to ſeek due reformation of ſuch great abuſes as tend to the ruin of their country, which muſt be done before the French grow too ſtrong and inſolent.

Firſt, That it may be provided, by conſent of the three eſtates of the land, that the land may be free from all idolatry like as England is; for juſtification whereof, if any free general council may be had where the pope of Rome have not the ſeat of judgment, they may offer to ſhew their cauſe to be moſt agreeable to Chriſt's religion.

Next, To provide that Scotland might be governed, in all rules and offices, by the ancient blood of the realm, without either captains, lieutenants, or ſoldiers, as all other princes govern their countries, and eſpecially that the forts might be in the hands of mere Scottiſh men.

Thirdly, That they might never be occaſioned to enter into wars againſt England, except England ſhould give the firſt cauſe to Scotland.

Fourthly, That no nobleman of Scotland ſhould receive penſion of France, except it were whilſt he did ſerve in France, for otherwiſe thereby the French would ſhortly corrupt many to betray their own country.

Fifthly, That no office, abbey, living, or commodity, be given to any but mere Scottiſh men, by the aſſent of the three eſtates of the realm.

Sixthly, That there be a council in Scotland appointed in the queen's abſence to govern the whole realm, and in thoſe caſes not to be directed by the French.

Seventhly, That it be by the ſaid three eſtates appointed how the queen's revenue of the realm ſhall be expended, how much the queen ſhall have for her portion and eſtate during her abſence, how much ſhall be limited to

the governance and defence of the realm, how much yearly appointed to be kept in treasure.

In these, and such like points, if the French king and the queen be found unwilling, and will withstand these provisions for the weale of the land, then hath the three estates of the realm authority, forthwith, to intimate to the said king and queen their humble requests; and if the same be not effectually granted, then humbly they may commit the governance thereof to the next heir of the crown, binding the same also to observe the laws and ancient rights of the realm.

Finally, If the queen shall be unwilling to this, as it is likely she will, in respect of the greedy and tyrannous affection of France, then it is apparent that Almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it, and this time must be used with great circumspection, to avoid the deceits and tromperies of the French.

And then may the realm of Scotland consider, being once made free, what means may be devised by God's goodness, to accord the two realms, to endure for time to come at the pleasure of Almighty God, in whose hands the hearts of all princes be.

No. II. (p. 169.)

A letter of Maitland of Lethington's thus directed:

To my loving friend James. Be this delivered at London.

(20th Jan. 1559-60. Cott. Lib. Cal. b. ix. From the original in his own hand.)

I Understand by the last letter I received from yow, that discoursing with zour countrymen upon the matter of Scotland, and commoditeys may ensew to that realm hereafter, giff ze presently assist ws with zour forces, ze find a nombre of the contrary advise, doubting that we sall not at length be found trusty friends, nor mean to contynew in constant ametye, albeit we promise, but only for avoyding the present danger make zou to serve our turne, and after being delivered, becum enemies as of before. For profe quhareof, they alledge things that have past betwixt ws heretofore, and a few

preſumptiones tending to the ſam end, all grounded upon miſtruſt; quhilks, at the firſt ſicht, have ſome ſhewe of appearance, gif men wey not the circumſtances of the matter; but gif they will confer the tyme paſt with the preſent, conſider the nature of this caus, and eſtate of our countrye, I doubt not but judgment ſall be able to baniſh miſtruſt. And firſt, I wad wiſh ze ſhould examyne the cauſes off the old inmitye betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and quhat moved our anceſtors to enter into ligue with the Frenche; quhilks by our ſtoreys and regiſtres off antiquiteys appear to be theſe. The princes of England, ſome tyme, alledging a certain kynde of ſoveraintye over this realm, ſome tyme upon hye courage, or incited by incurſions off our bordourares, and ſemblable occaſions, mony tymes enterpriſed the conqueſt of ws, and ſa far furth preiſt it by force off armes, that we were dryven to great extremiteys, by loſs of our princes, our noblemen, and a good part of our cuntrey, ſa that experience taught ws that our owne ſtrength was ſcarſe ſufficient to withſtand the force of England. The Frenche zour auncient enemies, conſidering well how nature had ſa placed ws in a iſland with zow, that na nation was able ſa to annoye England as we, being enemyes, ſoucht to joine ws to theym in ligue, tending by that meane to detourne zour armyes from the invaſion of France, and occupy zow in the defence of zour country at hame, offering for that effect to beſtowe ſome chargers upon ws, and for compaſſing off theyr purpos, choyſed a tyme to propone the matter, quhen the freſche memory of injuris lately receaved at zour hands, was ſa deeply prented on our hearts, that all our myndes were occupied how to be revenged, and arme ourſelves with the powar of a forayne prince againſt zour enterpriſes thereafter.

This was the beginning off our confederacy with France. At quhilk time, our cronicles maks mention, that ſome off the wyſeſt foreſaw the perril, and ſmall frute ſhould redound to us thereof at length: zit had affection ſa blinded judgment, that the adviſe of the maiſt part overcame the beſt. The maiſt part of all quarrells betwixt ws ſince that tyme, at leaſt quhen the provoca-

tion came on our ſide, hes ever fallen out by theyr procurement rather than any one caus off our ſelves: and quhenſaever we brack the peace, it come partly by their intyſements, partly to eſchew the conqueſt intended by that realm. But now hes God's providence ſa altered the caſe, zea changed it to the plat contrary, that now hes the Frenſche taken zour place, and we, off very jugement, becum deſyrous to have zou in theyr rowme. Our eyes are opened, we eſpy how uncareful they have been of our weile at all times, how they made ws ever to ſerve theyr turne, drew us in maiſt dangerous weys for theyr commodite, and nevertheleſs wad not ſtyck, oft tymes, againſt the natour of the ligue, to contrak peace, leaving ws in weyr. We ſae that their ſupport, of late zeres, wes not grantit for any affection they bare to ws, for pytie they had off our eſtate, for recompenſe of the lyke friendſhip ſcawin to theym in tyme off theyr afflictiones, but for ambition, and inſaciable cupiditie to reygne, and to mak Scotland an acceſſary to the crown of France. This was na friendly office, but mercenary, craving hyre farre exceeding the proportion of theyr deſerving; a hale realm for the defence of a part. We ſee theym manifeſtly attempt the thing we ſuſpected off zow; we feared ze ment the conqueſt of Scotland, and they are planely falled to that work; we hated zow for doubt we had ze ment evill towards ws, and ſall we love thym, quhilks bearing the name off frends, go about to bring ws in maiſt vile ſervitude? Gif by zour friendly ſupport at this tyme, ze ſall declare that not only ſeek ze not the ruyne of our country, but will preſerve the libertie thereof from conqueſt by ſtrangeares, ſall not the occaſion off all inimite with zow, and ligue with theym, be taken away? The cauſes being removed, how ſall the effectes remane? The fear of conqueſt made us to hate zou and love theym, the cais changed, quhen we ſee theym planely attempt conqueſt, and zou ſchaw us friendſhip, ſall we not hate theym, and favour zow? Gif we have ſchawne ſa great conſtance, continuing za mony zeares in amity with theym, off quhome we had ſa ſmall commodite, quhat ſall move us to breake with zow, that off all nations may do ws greateſt pleaſour?

But ze will ſay, this matter may be reconcyled and then frends as off before. I think weill peace is the end of all weyr; but off this ze may be aſſured, we will never ſa far truſt that reconciliation, that we will be content to forgo the ametye of England, nor do any thing may bring ws in ſuſpicion with zow. Gif we wold, at any tyme to pleaſe theym, break with zow, ſhould we not, beſydes the loſſe of eſtimation and diſcrediting off ourſelfes, perpetually expone our common weill to a maiſt manifeſt danger, and becum a prey to theyr tyranny? Quhais aid could we implore, being deſtitute of zour friendſhip, gif they off new wald attempt theyr formar enterpriſe? Quhat nation myght help ws giff they wald, or wald giff they might? And it is like eneuch, thay will not ſtick hereafter to tak theyr tyme off ws, quhen diſpleſour and grudge hes taken depe rute on baith ſydes, ſeeing ambition has ſa impyrit ower theyr reaſon, that before we hed ever done any thing myght offend theym, but by the contrary pleaſed them by right and wrang, they did not ſtick to attempte the ſubverſion of our hale ſtate. I wald ze ſhould not eſteeme ws ſa barayne of judgement, that we cannot foreſee our awne perril; or ſa fooliſche, that we will not ſtudy by all gode means to entertayne that thing may be our ſafetye; quhilk conſiſtes in all the relaying of zour friendſhips, I pray zow conſider in like caſe, when in the days of zour princes off maiſt noble memory king Henry the VIII. and king Edward the VI. meanes were opened off amytye betwixt baith realms; was not at all tymes the difference of religion the onley ſtay they were not embraced? Did not the craft of our clergy and power of their adherents ſubvert the deviſes of the better ſort? But now has God off his mercy removed that block furth off the way; now is not theyr practice lyke to tak place any mare, when we are comme to a conformity of doctrine, and profes the ſame religion with zow, quhilk I take to be the ſtrayteſt knot off amitye can be deviſed. Giff it may be alledged that ſome of our countrymen at ony tyme violated theyr fromis? Giff ze liff to way the circumſtances, ze ſall and the promis is rather brought on by neceſſitie, after

a great overthraw off our men, then comme off free will, and tending ever to our great incommodite and decay off our haill ſtate, at leiſt ſa taken. But in this caſe, ſall the preſervation off our libertie be inſeparably joined with the keping off promeſſe, and the violation off our fayth caſt ws in maiſt miſerable ſervitude. So that giff neyther the fear off God, reverence of man, religion, othe, promiſe, nor wardly honeſtye, was ſufficient to bynd ws, yet ſall the zeale of our native countrey, the maintenance off our own eſtate, the ſafety of our wyffes and childrene from ſlavery, compell ws to kepe promiſe. I am aſſured, it is trewly and ſincerely ment on our part to continew in perpetual ametye with zow; it ſall be uttered by our proceeding. Giff ze be as deſyrous of it as we ar, aſſurances may be devyſed, quharby all partyes will be out of doubte. There be gode means to do it, fit inſtruments for the purpos, tyme ſerves weill, the inhabitants of bayth realms wiſh it, God hes wrought in the people's hartes on both parties a certaine ſtill agreement upon it. Never did, at any tyme, ſo mony things concurre at ones to knyt it up; the diſpoſition of a few, quhais harts are in Godis hands, may mak up the hale. I hope he quha hes begun his work, and mainteyned it quhile now, by the expectation of man, ſall perfyte it. .

I pray zow, let not zour men dryve time in conſultation, quhether ze ſall ſupport ws or no, ſeying the mater ſpeaketh for itſelf, that ze mon take upon zow the defence of our caus, giff ze have any reſpect for zour awne weill. Their preparatives in France, and levying of men in Germany, (quheyroff I am lately advertiſed), ar not altogidder ordeyned for ws; ze ar the mark they ſhote at; they ſeke our realme, but for ane entrey to zours. Giff they ſhould directly ſchaw hoſtilitie to zow, they knaw zo wald mak redy for theyme, therefore they do, by indirect meanes, to blind zow, the thing they dare not as zit planely attempte. They ſeme to invade us to th' end that having aſſembled theyre hayle forces ſa nere zour bordours, they may unlok it to attack zow; It is ane of their ald fetches, making a ſchew to one place, to light on ane other.

Remember how covertly zour places about Boulougne were assaizeit, and carried away, ze being in peace as now. How the enterprise of Calais was fynely dissembled, I think ze have not sa sone forgotten. Beware of the third, prevent theyr policy by prudence Giff ze se not the lyke disposition presently in theym, ze se nathing. It is a grosse ignorance to misknaw, what all nations planely speks off. Tak hede ze zay not hereafter, "Had I wist;" ane uncomely sentence to procede off a wyse man's mouth. That is onwares chanced on to zow, quhilk zow commonly wissed, that this countrey myght be divorced from the Frensche, and is sa comme to pass as was maist expedient for zow. For giff by your intysement we had taken the matter in hand, ze myght have suspected we would have been untrusty friends, and na langer continued stedfaste, then perril had appeared. But now, quhen off our self, we have conceyved the hatred, provoked by private injuries, and that theyr evil dealing with ws hes deserved our inimitye, let no man dobte but they sall synde ws ennemyes in erneſt, that sa ungently hes demeyned our countrey, and at quhais hands we can look for nathing but all extremitye, giff ever they may get the upper hand. Let not this occasion, sa happely offered, escape zow: giff ze do, neglecting the present opportunitie, and hoping to have ever gode luk comme sleaping upon zow, it is to be feared zour enemye waxe so great, and sa strang, that afterwards quhen ze wald, ze sall not be able to put him down; and then, to zour smart, after the tyme ze will acknowledge zour error. Ze have felt, by experience, quhat harme cometh of oversight, and trusting to zour enemyes promesse. We offer zow the occasion quheyrby your former losses may be repayred, quhilk giff ze let over slyde, suffering ws to be overrun, quha then, I pray zow, sall stay the Frensche, that they sall not invade zow in zowr own boundes, sick it is their lust to reygne, that they can neither be content with theyr fortune present, nor rest and be satisfied whey they have gode luck, but will still follow on, having in thyr awne brayne conceaved the image of sa great a conqueſt, quhat think ye sall be the

end? Is ther any of ſa ſmall judgement, that he doth not forſee already, that theyr hail force ſall then be bent againſt zow?

It ſall not be amis, to conſider in quhat caſe the Frenſche be preſently. Theyr eſtate is not always ſa calm at hame as every man thinketh. And trewly it wes not theyr great redines for weyr made theym to tak this mater on hand, at this tyme, but rather a vayne truſt in their awne policy, thinking to have found na reſiſtance, their opinion hes deceaved theym, and that makes them now amaſed. The eſtates off the empire (as I heare) has ſuted reſtitution off th' imperial towns Metz, Toull, and Verdun, quhilk may grow to ſome beſynes; and all thing is not a calme within theyr awne countrey, the leſs fit they be preſently for weyr, the mare opportune eſteme ye the time for zow. Giff the lyke occaſion were offered to the Frenſche againſt zow, wey, how gladly would they embrace it? Are ze not eſchamed of zour ſleuth, to ſpare theym that hes already compaſſed zour deſtruction, giff theym were able? Conſider with zour ſelf quhilks is to be choyſed? To weyr againſt them out with zour realme or within? Giff quhill ze ſleape, we ſall be overthrowne, then ſall they not fayle to ſute zow in zour awne countrey, and uſe ws as a fote ſtole to overloke zow. But ſome will ſay, perhaps, they mean it not. It is folly to think they wald not giff they were able, quhen before hand they ſtick not to giff zour armes, and uſurpe the ſtyle of zour crown. Then quhat difference there is to camp within zowr awne bounds or without, it is manifeſt. Giff twa armyies ſhould camp with in zowr country, but a moneth, albiet ye receaved na other harme, zit ſhould zowr loſſe be greater, nor all the charge ze will nede to beſtow on our ſupport will draw to, beſydes the diſhonour.

Let not men, that eyther lack gode adviſe, or ar not for particular reſpects weill affected to the caus, move zow to ſubſtract zour helping hand, by alleging things not apparent, for that they be poſſible. It is not, I grant, unpoſſible that we may receave conditions of peace; but I ſee little likelyhode that our ennemyes

will offer ws ſik as will remove all miſtruſt, and giff we wald have accepted others, the matter had bene lang or now compounded. Let zow not be moved for that they terme ws rebelles, and diffames our juſt querrell with the name of conſpiracy againſt our ſoverayne. It is hir hyenes right we manetayne. It is the liberty of hir realm we ſtudy to preſerve with the hazard of our lyves We are not (God knaweth) comme to this poynt for wantones as men impatient of rewll, or willing to ſchake off the zoke of government, but ar drawne to it by neceſſitie, to avoyde the tyranny of ſtrangeares, ſeaking to defraud ws of lawful government. Giff we would ſuffer ſtrangeares to plant themſelffes peaceably in all the ſtrenthes of our realme, fortify the ſeyports, and maiſt important places, as ane entre to a plain conqueſt, now in the minoritie of our ſoverane, beying furth of the realme, ſhould we not be thought oncareful off the common weill, betrayares of our native countrey, and evill ſubjects to hir majeſtie? Quhat other opinion could ſche have off ws? Might ſhe not juſtly hereafter call ws to accompt, as negligent miniſteres? Giff ſtrangeares ſhould be thus ſuffered to broke the chefe offices, beare the hail rewll, alter and pervert our lawes and liberty at theyr pleaſour; myght not the people eſteem our noblemen unworthy the place of counſalours? We mean na wyſe to ſubtrak our obedience from our ſoverane, to defraud hir hyenes off her dew reverence, rents and revenues off hir crown. We ſeke nathing but that Scotland may remane, as of before, a fre realme, rewlit by hir hyenes and hir miniſters borne men of the ſam; and that the ſucceſſion of the crown may remane with the lawful blode.

I wald not ze ſould not ſa lyttil eſteme the friendſhip of Scotland, that ze juged it not worthy to be embraced. It ſall be na ſmall commodite for zow to be delivered off the anoyance of ſo neir a nyghtbour, quhais inimitye may more tróuble zow, then off any other nation albeit twiſs as puiſſant, not lyeng dry marche with zow. Beſydes that ſe ſall not nede to feare the invaſion off any prince lackying the commodite to invade zow by land, on our land. Conſider quhat ſuperfluous charge ze be

ſtowe on the fortification and keeping of Barwick; quhilk ze may reduce ta a mean ſowme, having ws to frends. The realme of Ireland being of nature a gode and fertill countrey, by reaſon off the continewall unquietnes and lak of policy, ze knaw to be rather a burthen unto zow then great advantage; and giff it were peaceable may be very commodious. For pacification quhayroff, it is not unknowne to zow quhat ſervice we are abill to do. Refuſe not theyr commoditeys, beſides mony ma quhen they are offred. Quhilks albeit I ſtudy to amplify and dilate, yet is na other countrey able to offer zou the lyke, and are the rather to be embraced, for that zour aunceſtors, by all means, maiſt erneſtly ſuted our amity, and yet it was not theyr hap to come by it. The matter hes almaiſt carried me beyond the bondes of a lattre, quharfor I will leave to trouble zou after I have given you this note. I wald wiſs that ze, and they that ar learned, ſould rede the twa former orations of Demoſthenes, called Olynthyacæ, and conſidere quhat counſall that wyſe oratour gave to the Athenians, his countrymen, in a lyke caſe; quhilk hes ſo great affinite with this cauſe of ours, that every word thereof myght be applied to our purpos. There may ze learne of him quhat adviſe is to be followed, when zour nyghtbours hous is on fyre. Thus I bid zou heartily fareweill. From Saint Andrews, the 20th of January 1559.

No. III. (p. 176.)

Part of a letter from Tho. Randolph to Sir William Cecil, from the camp before Leith, 29th of April, 1560.

(An original in the Paper-office)

I WILL only, for this time, diſcharge myſelf of my promiſe to the earl of Huntly, who ſo deſyreth to be recommended to you, as one who, with all his heart, favoureth this cauſe, to the uttermoſt of his power. Half the words that come out of his mouth were able to perſuade an unexperienced man to ſpeak farther in his behalf, than I dare be bold to write. I leave it to your honour to judge of him, as of a man not unknown to you, and will myſelf always meaſure my thoughts, as he ſhall deſerve to be ſpoken of. With much difficulty and great perſuaſion, he hath ſubſcribed with the reſt of

the lords to join with them in this action; whatsomever he can invent to the furtherance of this cause, he hath promised to do with solemn protestation and many words; he trusteth to adjoin many to this cause; and saith surely that no man shall lie where he taketh part. He hath this day subscribed a bond between England and this nation; he saith, that there was never thing that liked him better.

No. IV. (p. 186.)

Randolph to Cecil, 10th August 1560. From Edinburgh.

(An original in the Paper-office.)

SINCE the 29th of July, at what time I wrote last to your honour, I have heard of nothing worth the reporting. At this present it may please you to know, that the most part of the nobles are here arrived, as your honour shall receive their names in writing. The earl of Huntly excuseth himself by an infirmity in his leg. His lieutenant for this time is the lord of Lidington, chosen speaker of the parliament, or harangue maker, as these men term it. The first day of their sitting in parliament will be on Thursday next. Hitherto as many as have been present of the lords have communed and devised of certain heads then to be propounded, as, who shall be sent into France, who into England. It is much easier to find them than the other. It seemeth almost to be resolved upon that for England the master of Maxwell, and laird of Lidington. For France Pittarow and the justice clerk. Also they have consulted whom they think meetest to name for the XXIV. of the which the XII. counsellors must be chosen. They intend very shortly to send away Dingwal the herald into France, with the names of those they shall chuse, and also to require the king and queen's consent unto this parliament. They have devised how to have the contract with England confirmed by authority of parliament; how also to have the articles of the agreement between them and their king and queen ratified. These things yet have only been had in communication. For the confirmation of the contract with England I have no doubt; for that I hear many men very much like the

ſame, as the earl of Athol, the earl of Sutherland, the l. Glamis, who dined yeſterday with l. James. The lord James requeſted me this preſent day to bring the contract unto him. I intend, alſo, this day, to ſpeak unto the l. Gray, in our l. Gray's name, for that he promiſed in my hearing to ſubſcribe, and then preſently would have done it, if the contract could have been had. For the more aſſurance againſt all inconvenients, I would, beſides that, that I truſt it ſhall be ratified in parliament, that every nobleman in Scotland had put his hand and ſet his ſeal, which may always remain as a notable monument, tho' the act of parliament be hereafter diſannulled. If it might, therefore, ſtand with your advice, that the lords might be written unto, now that they are here preſent, to that effect, or that I might receive from your hon^r. ſome earneſt charge to travel herein, I doubt not but it would ſerve to good purpoſe. If it might be alſo known with what ſubſtantial and effectious words or charge you deſire to have it confirmed, I think no great difficulty would be made. The earl marſhal has often been moved to ſubſcribe, he uſeth mo delays than men judged he would. His ſon told me yeſterday, that he would ſpeak with me at leiſure, ſo did alſo Drumlanrick; I know not to what purpoſe: I have cauſed l. James to be the earneſter with the l. marſhal, for his authority's ſake, when of late it was in conſultation by what means it might be wrought, that the amity between theſe two realms might be perpetual; and among diverſe men's opinion, one ſaid that he knew of no other, but by making them both one, and that in hope of that mo things were done, than would otherwiſe have ever been granted; the earl of Argyll adviſed him earneſtly to ſtick unto that, that he had promiſed, that it ſhould paſs his power and all the crafty knaves of his counſel (I am bold to uſe unto your h. his own words), to break ſo godly a purpoſe. This talk liked well the aſſiſters, howſomever it pleaſed him to whom it was ſpoken unto. The barons, who in time paſt have been of the parliament, had yeſterday a convention among themſelves in the church, in very honeſt and quiet ſort;

they thought it good to require to be reſtored unto their ancient liberty, to have voice in parliament. They preſented that day a bill unto the lords to that effect, a copy whereof ſhall be ſent as ſoon as it can be had. It was anſwered unto gently, and taken in good part. It was referred unto the lords of the articles, when they are choſen to reſolve thereupon.——*Here follows a long paragraph concerning the fortifications of Dunbar, &c.*——This preſent morning, viz. the 9th, I underſtood, that the lords intended to be at the parliament, which cauſed me ſomewhat to ſtay my letter, to ſee what I could hear or learn worth the reporting unto your honour. The lords at ten of the clock, aſſembled themſelves at the palace, where the duke lieth; from whence they departed towards the tolbooth, as they were in dignity. Each one being ſet in his ſeat, in ſuch order as your h. ſhall receive them in this ſcroll. The crown, the mace, the ſword, were laid in the queen's ſeat. Silence being commanded, the l. of Lidington began his oration. He excuſed his inſufficiency to occupy that place. He made a brief diſcourſe of things paſt, and of what neceſſity men were forced unto for the defence of their country, what remedy and ſupport it pleaſed God to ſend them in the time of their neceſſity, how much he were bound heartily to acknowledge it, and to requite it. He took away the perſuaſion that was in many men's mind that lay back, that miſdeemed other things to be meant than was attempted. He adviſed all eſtates to lay all particulars apart, and to bend themſelves wholly to the true ſervice of God and of their country. He willed them to remember in what ſtate it had been of long time for lack of government, and exerciſe of juſtice. In the end, he exhorted them to mutual amity and hearty friendſhip, and to live with one another as members all of one body.—He prayed God long to maintain this peace and amity with all princes, eſpecially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the fear of God, and ſo ended. The clerk of regiſter immediately ſtood up, and aſked them to what matter they would proceed? It was thought neceſſary that the articles of the peace ſhould be confirmed with the cere-

mon conſent, for that it was thought neceſſary to ſend them away with ſpeed into France, and to receive the ratifications of them as ſoon as might be. The articles being read, were immediately agreed unto: A day was appointed to have certain of the nobles ſubſcribe unto them, and to put their ſeals, to be ſent away by a herald, who ſhall alſo bring the ratification again with him. The barons, of whom I have above written, required an anſwer to their requeſt; ſomewhat was ſaid unto the contrary. The barons alledged for them cuſtom and authority. It was in the end reſolved, that there ſhould be choſen ſix to join with the lords of the articles, and that if they, after good adviſement, ſhould find it right and neceſſary for the commonwealth, it ſhould be ratified at this parliament for a perpetual law. The lords proceeded immediately hereupon, to the chuſing of the lords of the articles. The order is, that the lords ſpiritual chuſe the temporal, and the temporal the ſpiritual, and the burgeſſes their own. There were choſen as in this other paper I have written. This being done, the lords departed and accompanied the duke, all as far as the Bow, (which is the gate going out of the high ſtreet), and many down into the palace where he lieth. The town all in armour, the trumpets ſounding, and other muſic ſuch as they have. Thus much I report unto your honour of that I did both hear and ſee. Other ſolemnities have not been uſed, ſaving in times long paſt the lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of uſe.

The names of as many earls and lords ſpiritual and temporals as are aſſembled at this parliament.

The duke of Chatelherault.

Earls	Caithneſs.	Livingſton.
Arran.	Rothes.	Innermeth.
Argyll.	Monteith.	Boyd.
Athole.	Lords.	Ogilvy.
Crawford.	Erſkine.	Fleming.
Caſſils.	Ruthven.	Glamis.
Marſhall.	Lindſey.	Gray.
Morton.	Somerville.	Ochiltree.
Glencairn.	Cathcart.	Gordon.
Sutherland.	Hume	

Lords Spiritual.

St. Andrews. Dunkell. Athens. The biſhop of the Iſles. Abbots and Priors I know not how many

The Lords of the Articles.

Spiritual.	Temporal.	Barons elected to be of the Articles.
Athens.	The Duke.	Maxwell.
Iſles.	Argyll.	Tillibardin.
Lord James.	Marſhall.	Cunninghamhead.
Arbroath.	Athole.	Lochenvar.
Newbottle.	Morton.	Pitarow.
Lindoris.	Glencairn.	Lundy.
Cowpar.	Ruthven.	Ten provoſts of the chief
Kinroſs.	Erſkine.	towns, which alſo are
Kilwinning.	Boyd.	of the articles.
	Lindſay.	

So that with the Subprior of St. Andrews, the whole is thirty-ſix.

It were too long for me to rehearſe particularly the diſpoſition, and chiefly the affections of theſe men, that are at this time choſen lords of the articles. May it ſatisfy your honr. for this time to know that, by the common opinion of men, there was not a ſubſtantialler or more ſufficient number of all ſorts of men choſen in Scotland theſe many years, nor of whom men had greater hope of good to enſue. This preſent morning, viz. the 10th, the l. of Lidington made me privy unto your letter; he intendeth, as much as may be, to follow your advice. Some hard points there are. He himſelf is determined not to go into France. He allegeth many reaſons, but ſpeaketh leaſt of that, that moveth him moſt, which is the example of the laſt, that went on a more grateful meſſage than he ſhall carry, and ſtood on other terms with their prince than he doth, and yet your honour knoweth what the whole world judgeth.

Petition of the Leſſer Barons to the Parliament, held Aug. 1560.

(Incloſed in Randolph's letter to Cecil, 15th Aug. 1560.)

MY lords, unto your lordſhips, humbly means and ſhows, we the barons and freeholders of this

realm, your brethren in Chriſt, That whereas the cauſes of true religion, and common well of this realm, are, in this preſent parliament, to be treated, ordered, and eſtabliſhed, to the glory of God, and maintenance of the commonwealth; and we being the greateſt number in proportion, where the ſaid cauſes concern, and has been, and yet are ready to bear the greateſt part of the charges thereuntill, as well in peace as in war, both with our bodies and with our goods; and ſeeing there is no place where we may do better ſervice now than in general councils and parliaments, in giving our beſt advice and reaſon, vote and councell for the furtherance thereof, for the maintenance of virtue and puniſhment of vice, as uſe and cuſtom had been of old by ancient acts of parliament obſerved in this realm; and whereby we undeſtand that we ought to be heard to reaſon and vote in all cauſes concerning the commonwealth, as well in councils as in parliaments; otherwiſe we think that whatſomever ordinances and ſtatutes be made concerning us and our eſtate, we not being required and ſuffered to reaſon and vote at the making thereof, that the ſame ſhould not oblige us to ſtand thereto. Therefore it will pleaſe your lordſhips to take conſideration thereof, and of the charge born, and to be born by us, ſince we are willing to ſerve truly to the common well of this realm, after our eſtate, that ye will, in this preſent parliament, and all couſells, where the common well of this realm is to be treated, take our advice, counſell, and vote, ſo that, without the ſame, your lordſhips would ſuffer nothing to be paſſed and concluded in parliament or councils aforeſaid; and that all acts of parliament made, in times paſt, concerning us for our place and eſtate, and in our favour, be at this preſent parliament confirmed, approved, and ratified, and act of parliament made thereupon. And your lordſhips anſwer humbly beſeeches.

Of the ſucceſs of this petition, the following account is given by Randolph; Lett. to Cecil, 19 Aug. 1560. The matters concluded and paſt by common conſent on Saturday laſt, in ſuch ſolemn ſort as the firſt day that they aſſembled, are theſe: Firſt, that the barons according to

an old act of parliament, made in the time of James I. in the year of God 1427, ſhall have free voice in parliament, this act paſſed without any contradiction.

No. V. (p. 194.)

A letter of Thomas Randolph, the Engliſh reſident, to the right worſhipful ſir William Cecil, knt. principal ſecretary to the queen's majeſty.

(9 Aug. 1561. Cott. Lib. B 10. fo. 32.)

I HAVE received your honour's letters of the firſt of this month, written at Oſyes in Eſſex; and alſo a letter unto the lord James, from his kinſman St. Come out of France, in this they agree both that the queen of Scotland is nothing changed of her purpoſe in home coming. I aſſure your honour that will be a ſtout adventure for a ſick craſed woman, that may be doubted as well what may happen unto her upon the ſeas, as alſo how heartily ſhe may be received when ſhe cometh to land of a great number who are utterly perſuaded that ſhe intendeth their utter ruin, come when ſhe will the preparence is very ſmall whenſoever that ſhe arrive, ſcarcely any man can be perſuaded that ſhe has any ſuch thought in her head. I have ſhown your honour's letters unto the lord James, lord Morton, lord Lidington; they wiſh, as your honour doth, that ſhe might be ſtayed yet for a ſpace, and if it were not for their obedience ſake, ſome of them care not tho' they never ſaw her face. They travel what they can to prevent the wicked devices of theſe miſchievous purpoſes of her miniſters, but I fear that that will always be found that filij hujus ſeculi, they do what they can to ſtand with the religion, and to maintain amity with their neighbours; they have alſo need to look unto themſelves, for their hazard is great, and that they ſee there is no remedy nor ſafety for themſelves, but to repoſe themſelves upon the queen's majeſty, our ſovereign's favour and ſupport. Friends abroad they have none, nor many in whom they may truſt at home. There are in mind ſhortly to try what they may be aſſured at of the queen's majeſty, and what they may aſſuredly perform of that they intend to offer for their parties. This the

queen of Scotland above all other things doubteth; this ſhe ſeeketh by all means to prevent; and hath cauſed St. Come, in her name, earneſtly to write to charge him that no ſuch things be attempted before her coming home; for that it is ſaid, that they too already arrived here out of England for the purpoſe, what ſemblant ſomever the noblemen do make, that they are grieved with their queen's refuſal, that cometh far from their hearts. They intend to expoſtulate with me hereupon. I have my anſwer ready enough for them. If ſhe thruſt all Engliſhmen out of this country, I doubt not but there will be ſome of her own that will bear us ſome kindneſs. Of me ſhe ſhall be quit, ſo ſoon as it pleaſeth the queen's majeſty my miſtreſs no longer to uſe my ſervice in this place. By ſuch talk, as I have of late had with the lord James and lord of Lidington, I perceive that they are of mind that immediately of the next convention I ſhall repair towards you with their determinations, and reſolutions, in all purpoſes, wherein your honour's advice is earneſtly required, and ſhortly looked for. Whatſomever I deſire myſelf, I know my will ought to be ſubject unto the queen my ſovereign's pleaſure, but to content myſelf, would God I were ſo happy as to ſerve her majeſty in as mean a ſtate as ever poor gentleman did, to be quit of this place; not that I do in my heart wax weary of her majeſty's ſervice, but becauſe my time and years require ſome place of more repoſe and quietneſs than I find in this country. I doubt alſo my inſufficience when other troubles in this country ariſe, or ought ſhall be required of me to the advancement of her majeſty's ſervice, that either my will is not able to compaſs, or my credit ſufficient to work to that effect, as perchance ſhall be looked for at my hands. As your honour hath been a means of my continuance in this room, ſo I truſt that I ſhall find that continual favour at your hands, that ſo ſoon as it ſhall ſtand with the the queen's majeſty's pleaſure, I may give this place unto ſome far worthier than I myſelf, and in the mean ſeaſon, have my courſe directed by your good advice how I may by my contri-

vance do ſome ſuch ſervice, as may be agreeable to her majeſty's will and pleaſure.

Theſe few words, I am bold to write unto your honour of myſelf. For the reſt, where that is wiſhed that the lords will ſtoutly continue yet for one month, I aſſure your honour that there is yet nothing omitted of their old and accuſtomed manner of doing, and ſeeing that they have brought that unto this point, and ſhould now prevail, they were unworthy of their lives.

I find not that they are purpoſed ſo to leave the matter, I doubt more her money than I do her fair words; and yet can I not conceive what great things can be wrought with forty thouſand crowns, and treaſure of her own here I know there is no ſure or ready means to get it. The lord of Lidington leaveth nothing at this time unwritten, that he thinketh may be able to ſatisfy your deſire, in knowledge of the preſent ſtate of things here. Whatſomever cometh of this, he findeth it ever beſt, that ſhe come not; but if ſhe do come, to let her know, at the firſt, what ſhe ſhall find, which is due obedience, and willing ſervice, if ſhe embrace Chriſt, and deſire to live in peace with her neighbours. By ſuch letters as you have laſt received, your honour ſomewhat underſtandeth of Mr. Knox himſelf, and alſo of others, what is determined, he himſelf to abide the uttermoſt, and other never to leave him until God hath taken his life, and thus together with what comfort ſomever it will pleaſe you to give him by your letters, that the queen's majeſty doth not utterly condemn him, or at the leaſt in that point, that he is ſo ſore charged with by his own queen, that her majeſty will not allow her doing. I doubt not but it will be a great comfort unto him, and will content many others; his daily prayer is for the maintenance of unity with England, and that God will never ſuffer men to be ſo ungrate, as by any perſuaſion to run headlong unto the deſtruction of them, that have ſaved their lives, and reſtored their country to liberty. I leave farther, at this time, to trouble your honour, deſiring God to ſend ſuch an amity between theſe two realms that God may be glorified to

them of this world.—At Edinburgh the 9th of Auguſt, 1561.

No. VI. (p. 202.)

A letter of Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary *.

(16 of Aug. 1561, Paper-office, from a copy.)

To the right excellent, right high and mighty princeſſe, our right dear well-beloved ſiſter and couſin the queen of Scotland.

RIGHT excellent, right high, and mighty princeſſe, our right dear and right well-beloved ſiſter and couſin, we greet you well. The lord of St. Coſme brought to us your letters, dated the 8th of this preſent at Abbevile, whereby ye ſignify, that although by the anſwer brought to you by Monſieur Doyzell, ye might have had occaſion to have entered into ſome doubt of our amity, yet after certain purpoſes paſſed betwixt you and our ambaſſador, you would aſſure us of your good meaning to live with us in amity, and for your purpoſe therein ye require us to give credit to the ſaid St. Coſme. We have thereunto thought good to anſwer as followeth: The ſame St. Coſme, hath made like declaration unto us on your part, for your excuſe in not ratifying the treaty, as yourſelf made to our ambaſſador, and we have briefly anſwered to every the ſame points as he can ſhew you: and if he ſhall not ſo do, yet leaſt in the mean ſeaſon you might be induced to think that your reaſons has ſatisfied us, ſomerally we aſſure you, that to our requeſts your anſwer cannot be reputed for a ſatisfaction. For we require no benefit of you, but that you will perform your promiſe whereunto you are bound by your ſeal and your hand, for the refuſal whereof we ſee no reaſon alledged can ſerve. Neither covet we any thing, but that which is in your own power as queen of Scotland, that which yourſelf in words

* This is the complete paper of which that induſtrious and impartial collector, biſhop Keith, has publiſhed a fragment, from what he calls his ſhattered MS. 154, note (a) 181.

and ſpeech doth confeſs, that which your late huſband's our good brother's ambaſſadors and you concluded, that which your own nobility and people were made privy unto, that which indeed made peace and quietneſs betwixt us, yea that without which no perfect amity can continue betwixt us, as if it be indifferently weighed, we doubt not but ye will perceive, allow, and accompliſh. Nevertheleſs perceiving by the report of the bringer, that you mean furthwith upon your coming home, to follow herein the advice of your council in Scotland, we are content to ſuſpend our conceipt of all unkindneſs, and do aſſure you that we be fully reſolved upon this being performed, to unite a ſure band of amity, and to live in neighbourhood with you as quietly, friendly, yea as aſſuredly in the knot of friendſhip, as we be in the knot of nature and blood. And herein we be ſo earneſtly determined, that the world ſhould ſee if the contrary ſhould follow, (which God forbid), the very occaſion to be in you and not in us; as the ſtory witneſſeth the like of the king your father, our uncle, with whom our father ſought to have knit a perpetual bond by inviting to come in this realm to York, of which matter we know there remain with us, and we think with you, ſundry witneſſes of our father's earneſt good meaning, and of the error whereunto divers evil councillors induced your father; or finally where it ſeemeth that report had been made unto you, that we had ſent our admiral to the ſeas with our navy to impeche your paſſage, both your ſervants do well underſtand how falſe that is, knowing for a truth that we have not any more than two or three ſmall barks upon the ſeas, to apprehend certain pirates, being thereto entreated, and almoſt compelled, by the earneſt complaint of the ambaſſador of our good brother the king of Spain, made of certain Scottiſhmen haunting our ſeas as pirates, under pretence of letters of marque, of which matter alſo we earneſtly require you, at your coming to your realm, to have ſome good conſideration, and the rather for reſpect that ought to be betwixt your realm and the countries of us, of France, of Spain, and of the houſe of Burgundy. And ſo, right excellent, right

high and mighty princeſs, we recommend us to you with moſt earneſt requeſt, not to neglect theſe our friendly and ſiſterly offers of friendſhip, which, before God, we mean and intend to accompliſh. Given under our ſignet, Heyningham the 16th of Auguſt, in the third year of our reign.

No. VII. (p. 228.)

A letter of Randolph to the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal ſecretary to the queen's majeſty.

(15th of May, 1563. Paper-office, from the original.)

OF late, until the arrival of monſieur Le Croc, I had nothing worth the writing unto your honour.—Before his coming we had ſo little to think upon that we did nothing but paſs our time in banqueting, maſking, and running at the ring, and ſuch like. He brought with him ſuch a number of letters, and ſuch abundance of news, that for the ſpace of three days, we gave ourſelves to nothing elſe but to reading of writings, and hearing of tales, many ſo truly reported, that they might be compared to any that ever Luciane, did write de viris narrationibus. Among all his tidings, for the moſt aſſured, I ſend this unto your honour as an undoubted truth, which is, that the cardinal of Lorraine, at his being with the emperor, moved a marriage between his youngeſt ſon, the duke of Aſtruche, and this queen; wherein he hath ſo far travelled, that it hath already come unto this point, that if ſhe find it good, the ſaid duke will out of hand ſend hither his ambaſſador, and farther proceed to the conſumation hereof, with as convenient ſpeed as may be; and to the intent her mind may be the better known, Le Croc is ſent unto her with this meſſage from the cardinal, who hath promiſed unto the emperor, to have word again before the end of May; and for this cauſe Le Croc is ready for his departure, and his letters writing both day and night. This queen being before advertiſed of his towardneſs, by many means hath ſought far off, to know my lord of Murray's mind herein, but would never ſo plainly deal with him, that he could learn what her

meaning is, or how ſhe is bent. She uſeth no man's council, but only this man's that laſt arrived, and aſſuredly until the l. of Lidington's return, ſhe will do what ſhe can to keep that ſecret; and becauſe reſolution in his abſence cannot be taken, ſhe will, for this time, return Le Croc with requeſt, to have longer time to devize; and after, with the moſt ſpeed ſhe can, ſhe fully purpoſeth to advertize him, I mean, her uncle the cardinal, of her mind. Of this matter the l. of Liddington is made privy. I know not whether by ſome intelligence that he had before his departure, or ſince his arrival in France, divers letters have paſſed between her grace and him, whereof as much as it imported not greatly the knowledge of, was communicated to ſome, as much as was written in ſypher is kept unto themſelves. Whether alſo the l. of Lidington hath had conference with the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England of this matter, or any like, I leave it unto your honour's good means to get true knowledge thereof. Gueſſes or ſurmizes in ſo grave matters, I would be loath to write for verities. This alſo your honour may take for truth, that the emperor hath offered with his ſon, for this queen's dower, the county of Tyroll, which is ſaid to be worth 30,000 franks by year. Of this matter alſo the rhingrave wrote a letter unto this queen, out of France not long ſince. This is all that preſently I can write unto your honour hereof; as I can come by farther knowledge, your honour ſhall be informed.

I have received your honour's writings by the Scottiſh man that laſt came into theſe parts; he brought alſo letters unto this queen from the l. of Lidington; their date was old, and contained only the news of France. I perceive divers ways, that Newhaven is ſorre cloſed, but I am not ſo ignorant of their nature, but that I know they will ſay as much as they dare do, I will not ſay as the proverb doth, 'canis timidus fortius latrat.' From hence I do aſſure them, what means ſomever they make, or how pitiful ſomever their mone be, they are like to receive but ſmall comfort for all their long allie. We ſtand daily in doubt what friendſhip we ſhall need ourſelf, except we put better order unto our miſruled papiſts,

than yet we do, or know how to bring to paſs that we may be void of their comber.

To morrow, the 15th of this inſtant, the queen departeth of this town, towards Edenburgh. If my hap be good, you ſhall thoroughly hear ſome merry tidings of the Bp. of St. Andrews; upon Wedneſday next he ſhall be arraigned, and five other prieſts, for their maſſing at Eaſter laſt. Thus moſt humbly I take my leave; at St. Andrews the 15th of May, 1563.

No. VIII. (p. 235.)

Letter of Randolph to the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal ſecretary to the queen's majeſty.

(10th of April 1563. Paper-office, from the original in his own hand.)

MAY it pleaſe your honour, the 7th of this inſtant, Rowlet, this queen's ſecretary, arrived here; he reporteth very honeſtly of his good uſage; he brought with him many letters unto the queen that came out of France, full of lamentation and ſorrow. She received from the queen mother two letters, the one contained only the rehearſal of her griefs, the other ſignify the ſtate of France as then it was, as in what ſort things were accorded, and what farther was intended for the appeaſing of the diſcords there, not miſtruſting but that if reaſon could not be had at the queen of England's hands, but that the realm of France ſhould find her ready and willing to ſupport and defend the right thereof, as by friendſhip and old alliance between the two realms ſhe is bound.

How well theſe words do agree with her doings your honour can well conſider, and by her writings in this ſort unto this queen (which I aſſure your honour is true), you may aſſuredly know that nothing ſhall be left undone of her part, that may move debate or controverſie between this queen and our ſovereign.

It was much muſed by the queen herſelf, how this new kindneſs came about, that at this time ſhe received two long letters written all with her own hand, ſaying, all the time ſince her return ſhe never received half ſo

many lines as were in one of the letters, which I can myſelf teſtify by the queen's own ſaying, and other good aſſurance, where hitherto I have not been deceived. I can alſo farther aſſure your honour, that this queen hath ſayed that ſhe knoweth now, that the friendſhip of the queen's majeſty my ſovereign may ſtand her more in ſtead, than that of her good mother in France, and as ſhe is deſirous of them both, ſo will ſhe not loſe the one for the other. I may alſo farther aſſure your honour, that whatſomever the occaſion is, this queen hath ſomewhat in her heart that will burſt out in time, which will manifeſt that ſome unkindneſs hath paſſed between them, that will not be eaſy forgotten. In talk ſometimes with myſelf, ſhe ſaith that the queen mother might have uſed the matter otherwiſe than ſhe hath done, and doth much doubt what ſhall be the ſucceſs of her great deſire to govern alone, in all things to have her will. Seeing then that preſently they ſtand in ſuch terms one with the other, I thought it better to confirm her in that mind (this queen I mean), than to ſpeak any word that might cauſe her to conceive better of the other. And yet I am aſſured ſhe ſhall receive as friendly letters, and as many good words from this queen, as the other did write unto her. Whether the queen mother will ſpeak any thing unto the l. of Lidington of that purpoſe ſhe did write unto this queen of, I know not; but if ſhe do, I think it hard if your honour can get no favour thereof, at his return, or I perchance by ſome means here. It may perchance be written only by that queen, to try what anſwer this queen will give, or underſtand what mind ſhe beareth unto this queen's majeſty our ſovereign. This queen knoweth now that the earl Bothwell is ſent for to London. She cauſed a gentleman of hers to enquire the cauſe; I anſwered that I knew none other, but that his takers were in controverſy who took him, and that it ſhould be judged there. I know that ſhe thinketh much that he is not ſent into Scotland. It is yet greatly doubted that if he were here, he would be reſerved for an evil inſtrument. If the lord of Lidington have not been plain with your honour herein, he is in the wrong to thoſe who are his friends here, but moſt

of all to himſelf. There comes a vulture in this realm, if ever that man come again into credit.

No. IX. (p. 241.)

The oration made by William Maitland of Lethington, younger ſecretary for the time, in the parliament holden by our ſovereign the king's mother, queen of this realm for the time, the time of the reſtitution of umquile Matthew earl of Lennox.

MY lords, and others here convened, Albeit, be that it has pleaſed her majeſty moſt graciouſly to utter to you, by her own mouth, ye may have ſufficiently conceived the cauſe of this your preſent aſſembly, yet having her majeſty's commandment to ſupply my lord chancellor's place, being preſently as ye ſee deceaſed, I am willed to expreſs the ſame ſomewhat more at large.

Notour it is, how in her highneſs's minority, a proceſs of forfaulture was decreed againſt my lord of Lennox, for certain offences alledged committed by him; ſpecified in the dome and cenſement of parliament given thereupon; by reaſon whereof he has this long time been exiled, and abſent forth of his native country; how grievous the ſame has been unto him, it has well appeared by divers his ſuites, ſundry ways brought unto her majeſty's knowledge, not only containing moſt humble and due ſubmiſſion, but always bearing witneſs of his good devotion to her majeſty, his natural princeſs, and earneſt affection he had to her highneſs moſt humble ſervice, if it ſhould pleaſe her majeſty of her clemency to make him able to enjoy the benefit of a ſubject; many reſpects might have moved her highneſs favourably to incline to his requeſt, as the anciency of his houſe, and the ſirname he bears, the honour he has to appertain to her majeſty by affinity, by reaſon of my lady Margaret, her highneſs's aunt, and divers other his good conſiderations, as alſo the affectuous requeſt of her good ſiſter the queen's majeſty of England, whoſe earneſt commendation was not of leaſt moment, beſides that of her own natural, her majeſty has a certain inclination to pity the decay of noble houſes, and as we heard, by her own report, has a great deal more pleaſure to be the inſtrument

of the uphold, maintenance, and advancement of the ancient blood, than to have matter miniſtered of the decay or overthrow of any good race. Upon this occaſion, her majeſty the more tenderly looked upon his requeſt, and her good ſiſter the queen of England's favourable letter, written for recommendation of his cauſe, in conſideration whereof not only has ſhe granted unto him her letter of reſtitution, by way of grace, but alſo licenſed him to purſue, by way of reduction, the remedies provided by the law for ſuch as think themſelves grieved by any judgement, unorderly led, and to have the proceſs reverſed; for examination whereof, it has pleaſed her majeſty preſently to aſſemble you the three eſtates of this her realme, by whoſe advice, deliberation and deciſion at her majeſty's mind, to proceed forward upon his complaints, as the merits of the cauſe, laws of the realme, and practice obſerved in ſuch caſes, will bear out. The ſum of all your proceedings at this time, being by that we have heard, thus as it were pointed out, I might here end, if the matter we have in hand gave me not occaſion to ſay a few more words, not far different from the ſame ſubject, wherein I would extend the circumſtances more largely. If I feared not to offend her highneſs, whoſe preſence and modeſt nature abhors long ſpeaking and adulation, and ſo will compel me to ſpeak ſuch things, as may ſeem to tend to any good and perfect point; and leſt it ſhould be compted to me, as that I were oblivious, if I ſhould omit to put you in remembrance, in what part we may accept this, and the like demonſtrations of her gentill nature; whoſe gracious behaviour towards all her ſubjects, in general may ſerve for a good proof of that felicity, we may look for under her happy government ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to grant her unto us; for a good harmony to be had in the common weill, the offices between the prince and the ſubjects muſt be reciproque; as by her majeſty's prudence we enjoy this preſent peace with all foreign nations, and quietneſs among yourſelves, in ſuch ſort, that I think juſtly it may be affirmed Scotland, in no man's age, that preſently lives, was in greater tranquillity; ſo is it the duty of all us her loving ſubjects to ac-

knowledge the ſame as a moſt high benefit, proceeding from the good government of her majeſty, declaring ourſelves thankful for the ſame, and rendering to her majeſty ſuch due obedience, as a juſt prince may look for at the hands of faithful and obedient ſubjects. I mean no forced nor unwilling obedience, which I know her nature does deteſt, but ſuch as proceeds from the contemplation of her modeſt kind of regiment, will for love and duty ſake produce the fruits thereof. A good proof have we all in general had of her majeſty's benignity theſe three years, that ſhe has lived in the government over you, and many of you have largely taſted of her large liberality and frank dealing; on the other part her highneſs has had large appearance of your dutiful obedience, ſo it becomes you to continue, as we have begun, in conſideration of the very notable examples of her clemency above others her good qualities, and to abhor and deteſt all falſe bruites and rumours, which are the moſt peſtilent evils that can be in any common weill, and the ſowers and inventors thereof. Then may we be well aſſured to have of her an moſt gracious princeſſe, and ſhe moſt faithful and loving ſubjects, and ſo both the head and the members, being encouraged to maintain the harmony and accord of the politic bodies, whereof I made mention before, as the glory thereof ſhall partly appertain to her majeſty, ſo ſhall no ſmall praiſe and unſpeakable commodity redound there through to you all univerſally her ſubjects.

No. X. (p. 249.)

The perils and troubles that may preſently enſue, and in time to come follow, to the queen's majeſty of England, and ſtate of this realm, upon the marriage of the queen of Scots to the lord Darley.

FIRST, the minds of ſuch as be affected to the queen of Scotts, either for herſelf or for the opinion of her pretence to this crown, or for the deſire to have change of the forme of religion in this realm, or for the diſcontentation they have of the queen's majeſty, or her ſucceſſion, or of the ſucceſſion of any other beſide the queen of Scots, ſhall be, by this marriage, erected, comforted,

and induced to deviſe and labour how to bring their deſires to paſs; and to make ſome eſtimate what perſons thoſe are, to the intent the quantity of the danger may be weighed; the ſame may be compaſſed in thoſe ſorts either within the realme or without.

The firſt are ſuch as are ſpecially devoted to the queen of Scotts, or to the lord Darley, by bond of blood and alliance; as firſt, all the houſe of Lorrain and Guiſe for her part, and the earl of Lennox and his wife, all ſuch in Scotland as be of their blood, and have received diſpleaſures by the duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons. The ſecond are all manner of perſons, both in this realme and other countries that are devoted to the authority of Rome, and miſlike of the religion now received; and in theſe two ſorts are the ſubſtance of them comprehended, that ſhall take comfort in this marriage.

Next therefore to be conſidered what perils and troubles theſe kind of men ſhall intend to this realme.

Firſt, the general ſcope and mark of all their deſires is, and always ſhall be, to bring the queen of Scotts to have the royal crown of this realme; and therefore, though the deviſers may vary amongſt themſelves for the compaſſing hereof, according to the accidents of the times, and according to the impediments which they ſhall find by means of the queen's majeſty's actions and governments, yet all their purpoſes, drifts, deviſes, and practices, ſhall wholly and only tend to make the queen of Scotts queen of this realme, and to deprive our ſovereign lady thereof; and in their proceedings, there are two manners to be conſidered, whereof the one is far worſe than the other; the one is intended by them, that either from malicious blindneſs in religion, or for natural affection to the queen of Scotts, or the lord Darley, do perſuade themſelves that the ſaid queen of Scotts hath preſently more right to the crown than our ſovereign lady the queen, which ſort be all their kindred on both ſides, and all ſuch as are devoted to popery, either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elſewhere; the other is meant by them, which, with leſs malice are perſuaded that the queen of Scotts hath only right to be the next

heir to ſucceed the queen's majeſty and her iſſue, of which ſort few are without the realme, but here within and yet of them, not ſo many as are of the contrary, and from theſe two ſorts ſhall the peril, deviſes, and practiſes proceed. From the firſt, which imagine the queen of Scotts to have perpetually right are to be looked for theſe perils. Firſt, is it to be doubted the devil will infect ſome of them to imagine the hurt of the life of our dear ſovereign lady, by ſuch means as the devil ſhall ſuggeſt to them, although it is to be aſſuredly hoped, that Almighty God will, as he hath hitherto, graciouſly protect and preſerve her from ſuch dangers? Secondly, there will be attempted, by perſuaſions, by bruits, by rumours, and ſuch like, to alienate the minds of good ſubjects from the queen's majeſty, and to conciliate them to the queen of Scotts, and on this behalf the frontiers and the north will be much ſolicited and labored. Thirdly, there will be attempted cauſes of ſome tumults and rebellions, eſpecially in the north towards Scotland, ſo as thereupon may follow ſome open enterpriſe ſet by violence. Fourthly, there will be, by the ſaid queen's council and friends, a new league made with France, or Spain, that ſhall be offenſive to this realme, and a furtherance to their title. And as it is alſo very likely, that they will ſet a foot as many practices as they can, both upon the frontiers and in Ireland, to occaſion the queen's majeſty to increaſe and continue her charge thereby, to retain her from being mighty or potent, and for the attempting of all theſe things, many deviſes will be imagined from time to time, and no negligence will therein appear.

From the ſecond ſort, which mean no other favour to the queen of Scotts, but that ſhe ſhould ſucceed in title to the queen's majeſty, is not much to be feared, but that they ſhall content themſelves to ſee not only the queen's majeſty not to marry, and ſo to impeach it, but to hope, that the queen of Scotts ſhall have iſſue, which they will think to be more pleaſable to all men, becauſe thereby the crowns of England and Scotland ſhall be united in one, and thereby the occaſion of war

ſhall ceaſe; with which perſuaſion many people may be ſeduced, and abuſed to incline themſelves to the part of the queen of Scotts.

The remedies againſt theſe perils.

A Duplicate.

A ſummary of the conſultation and advice given by the lords and others of the privy council, collected out of the ſundry and ſeveral ſpeeches of the ſaid counſellors.

(4th of June, 1565. Cot. Lib. Cal. b. 10. fol 290.)

	Lord Keeper,	Mr. Comptroller,
	Lord Treaſurer,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Earls of	Derby,	Mr. Secretary,
	Bedford,	Cave,
	Leiceſter,	Peter.
	Lord Admiral,	Maſon.
	Lord Chamberlain.	

Queſtions propounded were theſe two.

1. FIRST, what perils might enſue to the queen's majeſty, or this realm, of the marriage betwixt the queen of Scotts, and the lord Darnley.

2. What were meet to be done, to avoid or remedy the ſame.

To the firſt.

The perils being ſundry, and very many, were reduced by ſome counſellors into only one.

1. Firſt, That by this marriage, the queen of Scots (being not married), a great number in this realm not of the worſt ſubjects might be alienated in their minds from their natural duties to her majeſty, to depend upon the ſucceſs of this marriage of Scotland, as a mean to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of both the crowns in the iſſue of the ſame marriage, and ſo favour all deviſes and practices that ſhould tend to the advancement of the queen of Scotts.

2. Secondly, That conſidering the chief foundation of them, which furthered the marriage of lord Darnley was laid upon the truſt of ſuch as were papiſts, as the only means left to reſtore the religion of Rome, it was

plainly to be ſeen, that both in this realm and Scotland, the papiſts would moſt favour, maintain, and fortify this marriage of the lord Darnley, and would, for furtherance of faction in religion, deviſe all means and practices that could be within this realm to diſturb the eſtate of the queen's majeſty, and the peace of the realm, and conſequently to atchieve their purpoſes by force rather than fail. By ſome other, theſe perils having indeed many branches, were reduced, though ſomewhat otherwiſe, into two ſorts, and theſe were in nature ſuch as they could not be eaſily ſevered the one from the other, but were knit and linked together, naturally for maintaining the one with the other. The firſt of theſe ſort of perils was, that, by this marriage with the lord Darnley, there was a plain intention to further the pretended title of the queen of Scots, not only to ſucceed the queen's majeſty as in her beſt amity ſhe had profeſſed, but that to occupy the queen's eſtate, was when ſhe was in power, ſhe did manifeſtly declare.

The ſecond was, that hereby the Romiſh religion ſhould be erected, and increaſed daily in this realm, and theſe two were thus knit together, that the furtherance and maintenance of the title ſtaid, in furthering of the religion of Rome within this realm; and in like manner the furtherance of the ſame religion ſtood by the title, for otherwiſe the title had no foundation.

Proofs of the firſt.) And to prove that the intention to advance the title to diſturb the queen's majeſty, muſt needs enſue, was conſidered that always the intention and will of any perſon is moſt manifeſt, when their power is greateſt, and contrary when power is ſmall, then the intention and will of every perſon is covered and leſs ſeen. So as when the queen of Scotts power was greateſt, by her marriage with the dauphin of France, being afterwards French king, it manifeſtly appeared of what mind ſhe and all her friends were, uſing then manifeſtly all the means that could be deviſed to impeach and diſpoſſeſs the queen's majeſty, firſt

by writing and publiſhing herſelf in all countries queen of England; by granting charters, patents, and commiſſions, with that ſtyle, and with the arms of England, both the French and Scotts, which charters remain ſtill undefaced; and to proſecute it with effect, it is known what preparations of war were made, and ſent into Scotland; and what other forces were aſſembled in foreign countries; yea, in what manner a ſhameful peace was made by the French with king Philip to employ all the forces of France to purſue all the matters by force which by God's providence, and the queen's majeſty contrary power, were repelled; and afterwards, by her huſband's death, her fortune and power being changed, the intention began to hide itſelf, and altho' by the Scottiſh queen's commiſſaries an accord was made at Edenbrough, to reform all thoſe titles and claims, and pretences, yet to this day, by delays and cavillations, the ratification of that treaty hath been deferred. And ſo now, as ſoon as ſhe ſhall feel her power, ſhe will ſet the ſame again abroad, and by conſidering of ſuch errors as were committed in the firſt, her friends and allies will amend the ſame, and proceed ſubſtantially to her purpoſe. By ſome it was thought plainly, that the peril was greater of this marriage with the lord Darnley, being a ſubject of this realm, than with the mightieſt prince abroad; for by this, he being of this realm, and having for the cauſe of religion, and other reſpects, made a party here, ſhould encreaſe by force with diminution of the power of the realm; in that whatſoever power he could make by the faction of the papiſt, and other diſcontented perſons here, ſhould be as it were deducted out of the power of this realm; and by the marriage of a ſtranger, ſhe could not be aſſured of any part here; ſo as by this marriage ſhe ſhould have a portion in her own power to ſerve her turn, and a ſmall portion of adverſaries at home in our own bowels, always ſeem more dangerous than treble the like abroad, whereof the examples are in our own ſtories many, that foreign powers never prevailed in this realm, but with the help of ſome at home. It was alſo remembered, that ſeeing

how before this attempt of marriage, it is found, and manifeſtly ſeen, that in every corner of the realm, the faction that moſt favoureth the Scottiſh title, is grown ſtout and bold, yea ſeen manifeſtly in this court, both in hall and chamber, it could not be but (except good heed were ſpeedily given to it) by this marriage, and by the practice of the fautors thereof, the ſame faction would ſhortly encreaſe, and grow ſo great and dangerous, as the redreſs thereof would be almoſt deſperate. And to this purpoſe it was remembered, how of late in peruſing of the ſubſtance of the juſtice of the peace, in all the countries of the realm, ſcantily a third was found fully aſſured to be truſted in the matter of religion, upon which only ſtring the queen of Scotts title doth hang, and ſome doubt might be, that the friends of the earl of Lennox, and his had more knowledge hereof than was thought, and thereby made avant now in Scotland, and their party was ſo great in England as the queen's majeſty durſt not attempt to contrary his marriage. And in this ſort, was the ſum of the perils declared, being notwithſtanding more largely and plainly ſet out, and made ſo apparent by many ſure arguments, as no one of the council could deny them to be but many and very dangerous.

Second Queſtion.

The queſtion of this conſulation was what were meet to be done to avoid theſe perils, or elſe to divert the force thereof from hurting the realm? wherein there were a great number of particular deviſes propounded; and yet the more part of them was reduced by ſome into three heads.

1. The firſt thought neceſſary by all perſons, as the only thing of the moſt moment and efficacy, to remedy all theſe perils, and many others, and ſuch as without it no other remedy could be found ſufficient, and that was to obtain that the queen's majeſty would marry, and make therein no long delay.

2. The ſecond was to advance, eſtabliſh, and fortify indeed the profeſſion of religion both in Scotland and

in England, and to diminish, weaken, and feeble the contrary.

3. The third was, to proceed on sundry things, either to disappoint and break this intended marriage, or, at the least, thereby to procure the same not to be so hurtful to this realm, as otherwise it will be.

The first of these three hath no particular rights in it, but an earnest and unfeigned desire and suite, with all humbleness, by prayer to Almighty God, and advice and council to the queen's majesty, that she would defer no more time from marriage, whereby the good subjects of the realm might stay their hearts, to depend upon her majesty, and the issue of her body, without which no surety can be devised to ascertain any person of continuance of their families or posterities, to enjoy that which otherwise should come to them.

Second, concerning the matters of religion, wherein both truth and policy were joined together, had these particulars.

First, whereas of late the adversaries of religion, in the realm, have taken occasion to comfort and increase their faction, both in England, Scotland, and abroad, with a rumour and expectation that the religion shall be shortly changed in this realm, by means that the bishops, by the queen's majesty commandment, have of late dealt streightly with some persons of good religion, because they had forborn to wear certain apparel, and such like things; being more of form and accidents, than of any substance, for that it is well known that her majesty had no meaning to comfort the adversaries, but only to maintain an uniformity as well in things external as in the substance, nor yet hath any intention to make any change of the religion as it is established by laws. It was thought by all men very necessary for the suppressing of the pride and arrogancy of the adversaries, indirectly hereby to notify, by her special letters to the two archbishops, that her former commandment was only to retain an uniformity, and not to give any occasion to any person to misjudge of her majesty, in the change of any part of religion, but that she did not determine firmly to maintain the form

of her religion, as it was eſtabliſhed, and to puniſh ſuch as did therein violate her laws. And in theſe points, ſome alſo wiſhed that it might pleaſe her archbiſhops, that if they ſhould ſee that the adverſaries continued in taking occaſion to fortify their faction, that in that caſe they ſhould uſe a moderation therein, until the next parliament, at which time, ſome good, uniform, and decent order might be deviſed, and eſtabliſhed, for ſuch ceremonies, ſo as both uniformity and gravity might be retained amongſt the clergy.

The ſecond means was, that the quondam biſhops, and others, which had refuſed to acknowledge the queen's majeſty's power over them, according to the law, and were of late diſperſed in the plague time to ſundry places abroad, where it is known they ceaſe not to advance their faction, might be returned to the Tower, or ſome other priſon, where they might not have ſuch liberty to ſeduce and inveigle the queen's majeſty's ſubjects, as they daily do.

The third means was, that where the biſhops do complain that they dare not execute the eccleſiaſtical laws, to the furtherance of religion, for fear of the premunire wherewith the judges and lawyers of the realm, being not beſt affected in religion, do threaten them, and in many caſes lett not to pinch and deface them, that upon ſuch caſes opened, ſome convenient authority might be given them, from the queen's majeſty, to continue during her pleaſure.

The fourth was, that there were daily lewd, injudicious and unlawful books in Engliſh brought from beyond ſeas, and are boldly received, read, and kept, and eſpecially in the north, ſeducing of great numbers of good ſubjects, the like boldneſs whereof was never ſuffered in any other princeſs's time, that ſome ſtreight order might be given to avoid the ſame, and that it might be conſidered by the judges, what manner of crime the ſame is, to maintain ſuch books, made directly againſt her majeſty's authority, and maintaining a ſovereign power, contrary to the laws of the realm.

The fifth was, that where a great number of monks,

fryars, and ſuch lewd perſons are fled out of Scotland, and do ſerve in England, eſpecially in the North, as curates of churches, and all ſuch of them as are not found honeſt and conformable, may be baniſhed out of the realm, for that it appeareth they do ſow ſedition in the realm, in many places, and now will increaſe their doings.

The ſixth, where ſundry having eccleſiaſtical livings are on the other ſide the ſea, and from thence maintain ſedition in the realm; that livings may be better beſtowed, to the commodity of the realm, upon good ſubjects.

The ſeventh is, that the judges of the realm, having no ſmall authority in this realm, in governance of all property of the realm, might be ſworn to the queen's majeſty, according to the laws of the realm, and ſo thereby they ſhould for conſcience ſake maintain the queen's majeſty's authority.

The particulars of the third intention to break and avoid this marriage, or to divert the perils.

Firſt to break this marriage, conſidering nothing can likely do it, but force, or fear of force, it is thought by ſome that theſe means following might occaſion the breach of the marriage.

1. That the earl of Bedford repair to his charge.

2. That the works at Berwick be more advanced.

3. That the garriſon be there increaſed.

4. That all the wardens put their frontiers in order with ſpeed, to be ready at an hour's warning.

5. That ſome noble perſon, as the duke of Norfolk, or the earl of Salop, or ſuch other, be ſent into Yorkſhire, to be lieutenant general in the North.

6. That preparations be made of a power, to be in readineſs to ſerve, either at Berwick, or to invade Scotland.

8. That preſently lady Lennox be committed to ſome place, where ſhe may be kept from giving or receiving of intelligence.

9. That the earl of Lennox and his ſon may be ſent for, and required to be ſent home by the queen of Scots, according to the treaty; and if they ſhall not come,

then to denounce to the queen of Scots the breach of the treaty, and thereupon to enter with hoſtility; by which proceeding, hope is conceived (ſo the ſame be done in deeds and not in ſhews) that the marriage will be avoided, or at the leaſt that it may be qualified from many perils; and whatſoever is to be done herein, is to be executed with ſpeed, whilſt ſhe has a party in Scotland that favoureth not the marriage, and before any league made by the queen of Scots with France or Spain.

Some other allows well of all theſe proceedings, ſaving of proceeding to hoſtility, but all to agree in the reſt, and alſo to theſe particularities following.

10. That the earl's lands, upon his refuſal, or his ſon's refuſing, ſhould be ſeized, and beſtowed in gift or cuſtody, as ſhall pleaſe her majeſty, upon good ſubjects.

11. That all manifeſt favourers of the earl, in the North, or elſewhere, be inquired for, and that they be, by ſundry means, well looked to.

12. That enquiry be made in the North, who have the ſtewardſhip of the queen's majeſty's lands there, and that no perſon deſerving miſtruſt be ſuffered to have governance or rule of any of her ſubjects or lands in the North, but only to retain their fees, and more truſty perſon have rule of the ſame people's lands.

12. That all frequent paſſages into this realm, to and from Scotland, be reſtrained to all Scottiſh men, ſaving ſuch as have ſafe conduct, or be eſpecially recommended from Mr. Randolph, as favourers of this realm.

That ſome inteiligence be uſed with ſuch in Scotland, as favour not the marriage, and they comforted from time to time.

15. That the queen's majeſty's houſhold, chamber, and penſioners, be better ſeen unto, to avoid broad and uncomely ſpeech uſed by ſundry againſt the ſtate of the realm.

16. That the younger ſon of the earl of Lennox, Mr. Charles, be remembered to ſome place where he may be forthcoming.

17. That conſidering the faction and title of the queen of Scots hath now of long time received great

favour, and continued, by the queen's majeſty's favour herein, to the queen of Scots and her miniſters, and the lady Catherine, whom the ſaid queen of Scots accompted as a competitor unto her in pretence of title, it may pleaſe the queen's majeſty, by ſome exterior act, to ſhew ſome remiſſion of her diſpleaſure to the lady, and to the earl of Hartford, that the queen of Scots thereby may find ſome change, and her friends put in doubt of further proceedings therein.

18. That whoſoever ſhall be lieutenant in the North, ſir Ralph Sadler may accompany him.

19. That with ſpeed the realm of Ireland may be committed to a new governor.

20. Finally, that theſe advices being conſidered by her majeſty, it may pleaſe her to chooſe which of them ſhe liketh, and to put them in execution in deeds, and not paſs them over in conſultations and ſpeeches.

For it is to be aſſured, that her adverſaries will uſe all means to put their intention in execution. Some by practice, ſome by force, when time ſhall ſerve, and no time can ſerve ſo well the queen's majeſty to interrupt the perils, as now at the firſt, before the queen of Scots purpoſes be fully ſettled.

No. XI. (p. 259.)

Randolph to the earl of Leiceſter, from Edinburgh the 31ſt of July.

(Cott. Lib. Cal. b. ix. fol. 216. An original.)

MAY it pleaſe your lordſhip, I have received your lordſhip's letter by my ſervant, ſufficient teſtimony of your lordſhip's favour towards me, whereof I think myſelf always ſo aſſured, that what other miſhap ſoever befal me, I have enough to comfort myſelf with; though I have not at this time received neither according to the need I ſtand, nor the neceſſity of the ſervice that I employed in, I will rather paſs it, as I may with patience, than trouble your lordſhip to be further ſuter for me, when there is ſo little hope that any good will be done for me. I doubt not but your lordſhip hath heard by ſuch information as I have given from hence, what the preſent ſtate of this country is, how this queen

is now become a married wife, and her husband, the self-same day of his marriage, made a king. In their desires, hitherto, they have found so much in their contentment, that if the rest succeed and prosper accordingly, they may think themselves much happier, than there is appearance that they shall be; so many discontented minds, so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered, and in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage; so little hope, so little comfort as men do talk, was never seen, at any time, when men should most have shewed themselves to rejoice, if that consideration of her own honour and well of her country had been had as appertained in so weighty a case. This is now their fear, the overthrow of religion, the breach of amitie with the queen's majesty, and the destruction of as many of the nobility as she hath a misliking of, or that she liketh to pitch a quarrel unto. To see all these inconveniencies approaching, there are a good number that may sooner lament with themselves, and complain to their neighbours, than be able to find remedie to help them, some attempt with all the force they have, but are too weak to do any good, what is required otherways, or what means there is made your lordship knoweth; what will be answered, or what will be done, therein, we are in great doubt, and though your intent be never so good unto us, yet do we so much fear your delay, that our ruin shall prevent your support when council is once taken. Nothing so needful, as speedy execution. Upon the queen's majesty we wholly depend; in her majesty's hand it standeth to save our lives, or to suffer us to perish; greater honour her majesty cannot have, than in that which lieth in her majesty's power to do for us; the sums are not great; the numbers of men are not many that we desire; many will daylay be found, though this will be some charge; men grow daylay, though, at this time, I think her majesty shall lose but few; her friends here being once taken away, where will her majesty find the like; I speak least of that which I think is most earnestly intended by this queen, and her husband, when by him

it was lately ſaid, that he cared more for the papiſts in England, than he did for the proteſtants in Scotland; if therefore, his hopes be ſo great in the papiſts of England, what may your lordſhip believe that he thinketh of the proteſtants there; for his birth, for his nurritour, for the honour he hath to be of kine to the queen my miſtreſs, if in preferring thoſe that are the queen's majeſties worſt ſubjects to thoſe that are her beſt, he declareth what mind he beareth to the queen's majeſty's ſelf, any man may ſay it is ſlenderly rewarded, and his duty evil forgotten; he would now ſeem to be indifferent to both the religions, ſhe to uſe her maſs, and he to come ſometimes to the preaching; they were married with all the ſolemnities of the popiſh time, ſaving that he heard not the maſs; his ſpeech and talk argueth his mind, and yet would he fain ſeem to the world that he were of ſome religion; his words to all men, againſt whom he conceiveth any diſpleaſure how unjuſt ſoever it be, ſo proud and ſpitfull, that rather he ſeemeth a monarch of the world, than he that, not long ſince, we have ſeen and known the lord Darnley; he looketh now for reverence of many that have little will to give it him; and ſome there are that do give it, that think him little worth of it. All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully; all praiſes that may be ſpoken of him, he lacketh not from herſelf; all dignities that ſhe can endue him with, which are already given and granted; no man pleaſeth her that contenteth not him; and what may I ſay more, ſhe hath given over to him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himſelf beſt liketh; ſhe can as much prevail with him, in any thing that is againſt his will, as your lordſhip may with me to perſuade that I ſhould hang myſelf; this laſt dignity out of hand to have been proclaimed king, ſhe would have it deferred until it were agreed by parliament, or he had been himſelf 21 years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. He would, in no caſe, have it deferred one day, and either then or never: whereupon this doubt is riſen amongſt our men of law whether ſhe being clad with a

huſband, and her huſband not twenty-one years, any thing without parliament can be of ſtrength, that is done between them; upon Saturday at afternoon, theſe matters were long in debating. And before they were well reſolved upon, at nine hours at night, by three heralds, at ſound of the trumpet he was proclaimed king. This was the night before the marriage; this day, Monday at twelve of the clock, the lords, all that were in the toun, were preſent at the proclaiming of him again, where no man ſaid ſo much as Amen, ſaving his father that cried out aloud, God ſave his queen. The manner of the marriage was in this ſort, upon Sunday in the morning between five and ſix, ſhe was conveyed by divers of her nobles to the chapell; ſhe had upon her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, not unlike unto that which ſhe wore the doulfull day of the burial of her huſband: ſhe was led unto the chapell, by the earl of Lennox and Athol, and there was ſhe left until her huſband came, who was alſo conveyed by the ſame lords, the miniſter prieſts, two, do there receive them, the bands are aſked the third time, and an inſtrument taken by a notour that no man ſaid againſt them, or alledged any cauſe why the marriage might not proceed. The words were ſpoken, the rings which were three, the middle a rich diamond, were put upon her finger; they kneel together, and many prayers ſaid over them, ſhe tarrieth out the maſs, and he taketh a kiſs, and leaveth her there, and went to her chamber, whither within a ſpace ſhe followeth; and being required, according to the ſolemnity, to caſt off her cares and to leave aſide thoſe ſorrowful garments, and give herſelf to a more pleaſant life, after ſome pretty refuſall, more I believe for manner ſake than grief of heart, ſhe ſuffered them that ſtood by, every man that could approach, to take out a pin, and ſo being committed to her ladies, changeth her garments, but went to bed, to ſignifie to the world, that it was not luſt that moved them to marry, but only the neceſſity of her country, not, if God will, long to leave it deſtitute of an heir. Suſpicious men, or ſuch as are given of all things to make the

worſt, would that it ſhould be believed, that they knew each other before they came there; I would not your lordſhip ſhould ſo believe it, the likelihoods are ſo great to the contrary, that if it were poſſible to ſee ſuch an act done, I would not believe it. After the marriage followeth commonly great cheer and dancing: to their dinner they were conveyed by the whole nobility: the trumpets ſound; a largeſs cried: mony thrown about the houſe in great abundance, to ſuch as were happy to get any part; they dine both at one table, ſhe upon the upper hand, there ſerve her theſe earls Athole, ſewer, Morton, carver, Craufoord, cup-bearer; theſe ſerve him in like offices, earls Eglington, Caſſels, and Glencairn; after dinner they danced a while, and then retired themſelves till the hour of ſupper; and as they dined ſo do they ſup, ſome dancing there was, and ſo they go to bed; of all this I have written to your lordſhip I am not oculatus teſtis to this, but of the verity your lordſhip ſhall not need to doubt, howſoever I came by it; I was ſent for to have been at the ſupper, but like a curriſh or uncourtly carle I refuſed to be there; and yet that which your lordſhip may think might move me much, to have had the ſight of my miſtreſs, of whom theſe eighteen days by juſt account I got not a ſight, I am, my lord taken by all that ſort as a very evil perſon, which in my heart I do well allow, and like of myſelf the better, for yet can I not find either honeſt or good that liketh their doings. I leave at this time further to trouble your lordſhip, craving pardon for my long ſilence, I have more ado than I am able to diſcharge, I walk now more abroad by night than by day, and the day too little to diſcharge myſelf of that which I conceive, or receive in the night. As your lordſhip, I am ſure, is partaker of ſuch letters as I write to Mr. Secretary, ſo that I truſt that he ſhall be to this, to ſave me of a little labour, to write the ſame again, moſt humbly I take my leave at Edinburgh, the laſt day of July, 1565.

No. XII. (p. 262.)

Letter of the earl of Bedford to the honourable Sir William Cecil knt. her Majesty's principal secretary, and one of her highness's privy council.

(2d of Sept. 1565. Paper-office, from the original.)

AFTER my hearty commendations, this day at noon captain Brickwell came hither, who brought with him the queen's majesty's letters, containing her full resolution and pleasure for all things he had in charge to give information of, saving that for the aid of the lords of the congregation there is nothing determined, or at the least expressed in the same letters, and for that purpose received I, this morning, a letter subscribed by the duke, the earl of Murray, Glencarne, and others, craving to be holpen with 300 harquebusyers out of this garrison, for their better defence. And albeit, I know right well the goodness of their cause, and the queen's majesty our sovereign's good will, and care towards theme; and do also understand that it were very requisite to have them holpen, for that now there cause is to be in this manner decided, and that it now standeth upon their utter overthrow and undoing, since the queen's party is at the least 5000, and they not much above 1000; besides, that the queen hath harquebusyers, and they have none, and do yet want the power that the earl of Arguyle should bring to them, who is not yet joined with theirs; I have thereupon thought good to pray you to be a means to learn her majesty's pleasure in this behalf, what, and how, I shall answer them, or otherwise deal in this matter, now at this their extreme necessity. For, on the one side, lyeth thereupon their utter ruing and overthrow, and the miserable subversion of religion there; and, on the other side, to adventure so great and weighty a matter as this is (albeit it be but of a few soldiers, for a small time), without good warraunte, and thereby to bring, peradventure, upon our heads some wilful warrs, and in the mean time to leave the place unfurnished, (having in the whole but 800), without any grant of new supply for the same; and by that means also, to leave

the marches here the more subject to invasion, while in the mean season new helps are preparing; to this know not I what to say or how to do. And so much more I marvel thereof, as that having so many times written touching this matter no resolute determination cometh. And so between the writing, and looking for answer, the occasion cannot pass, but must needs proceed and have success. God turn it to his glory, but surely all men's reason hath great cause to fear it. Such a push it is now come into, as this little supply would do much good to advance God's honour, to continue her majesty's great and careful memory of them, and to preserve a great many noblemen and gentlemen. If it be not now helpen, it is gone for ever. Your good will and affection that way I do nothing mistrust, and herein shall take such good advice as by any means I can. I received from these lords two papers inclosed, the effect whereof shall appear unto you. For those matters that captain Brickwell brought, I shall answer you by my next, and herewith send you two letters from Mr. Randolph, both received this day. By him you shall hear that the protestants are retired from Edenborough, further off. So I hope your resolution for their aid shall come in time, if it come with speed, for that they will not now so presently need them; and so with my hearty thanks commit you to God. From Berwick, the 2d of Sept. 1565.

No. XIII. (p. 262.)

The queen to the earl of Bedford.

(12th Sept. 1565. - Paper-office.)

UPON the advertisements lately received from you, with such other things as came also from the lord Scrope and Thomas Randolph, and upon the whole matter well considered, we have thus determined. We will, with all the speed that we can, send to you 3000l. to be thus used. If you shall certainly understand that the earl of Murray hath such want of money, as the impressing to him of 1000l. might stand him in stead for the help to defend himself, you shall presently let him secretly to understand, that you will, as of yourself, let him have so much, and so we will that you let him

have, in the moſt ſecret ſort that you can, when the ſaid ſum ſhall come to you, or if you can by any good means, advance him ſome part thereof beforehand.

The other 2000l. you ſhall cauſe to be kept whole, unſpent, if it be not that you ſhall ſee neceſſary cauſe to impreſt ſome part thereof to the now numbers of the 600 footmen and 100 horſemen; or to the caſting out of wages of ſuch workmen, as by ſickneſs, or otherwiſe, ought to be diſcharged. And where we perceive, by your ſundry letters, the earneſt requeſt of the ſaid earl of Murray and his aſſociates, that they might have, at leaſt, 300 of our ſoldiers, to aid them. And that you alſo write, that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing herein, and ſeem to blame you for attempting ſuch things, as you with the help of others ſhould bring about, you doubt not but things would do well; you ſhall underſtand for a truth, that we have no intention, for many reſpects, to maintain any other princes ſubjects, to take arms againſt their ſovereign; neither would we willingly do any thing to give occaſion to make wars betwixt us and that prince, which has cauſed us to forbear, hitherto, to give you any power, to let them be aided with any men. But now, conſidering we take it, that they are purſued, notwithſtanding their humble ſubmiſſion, and offer to be ordered and tried by law and juſtice, which being refuſed to them, they are retired to Dumfreſe, a place near our weſt marches, as it ſeemeth there to defend themſelves, and adding thereunto the good intention that preſently the French king pretendeth, by ſending one of his to join with ſome one of ours, and jointly to treat with that queen, and to induce her to forbear this manner of violent and rigorous proceeding againſt her ſubjects, for which purpoſe the French ambaſſador here with us has lately written to that queen, whereof anſwer is daily looked for; to the intent in the mean time the ſaid lords ſhould not be oppreſſed and ruined for lack of ſome help to defend them, we are content and do authorize, if you ſhall ſee it neceſſary for their defence,

to let them (as of your own adventure, and without notifying that you have any direction therein from us) to have the number of 300 ſoldiers, to be taken either in whole bands, or to be drawn out of all your bands, as you ſhall ſee cauſe. And to cover the matter the better, you ſhall ſend theſe numbers to Carliſle, as to be laid there in garriſon, to defend that march, now in this time that ſuch powers are on the other part drawing to thoſe frontiers, and ſo from thence as you ſhall ſee cauſe to direct of, the ſame numbers, or any of them, may moſt covertly repair to the ſaid lords, when you ſhall expreſſly advertize, that you ſend them that aid only for their defence, and not therewith to make war againſt the queen, or to do any thing that may offend her perſon, wherein you ſhall ſo preciſely deal with them, that they may perceive your care to be ſuch as if it ſhould otherwiſe appear, your danger ſhould be ſo great, as all the friends you have could not be able to ſave you towards us. And ſo we aſſure you our conſcience moveth us to charge you, ſo to proceed with them; for otherwiſe than to preſerve them from ruin, we do not yield to give them aid of money or men: and yet we would not that either of theſe were known to be our act, but rather to be covered with your own deſire and attempt.

No. XIV. (p. 270.)

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, 7th Feb. 1565-6.

(An original.)

MY humble duty conſidered; what to write of the preſent ſtate of the country I am ſo uncertain, by reaſon of the daily alterations of mens minds, that it maketh me much ſlower than otherwiſe I would. Within theſe few days there was ſome good hope that this queen would have ſhewed ſome favour towards the lords, and that Robert Melvin ſhould have returned unto them with comfort, upon ſome conditions. Since that time, there are come out of France Clernau by land, and Thorneton by ſea; the one from the cardinal, the other from the biſhop of Glaſgow. Since whoſe arrival neither can there be good word gotten, nor appearance of any good intended them, except that they

be able to perſwade the queen's majeſty our ſovereign to make her heir apparent to the croun of England. I write of this nothing leſs than I know, that ſhe hath ſpoken. And by all means that ſhe thinketh the beſt doth travaile to bring it to paſs. There is a band lately deviſed, in which the late pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, with divers princes of Italy, and the queen mother, ſuſpected to be of the ſame confederacy to maintain papiſtry throughout Chriſtiandom; this band was ſent out of France by Thorneton, and is ſubſcribed by this queen, the copy thereof remaining with her, and the principal to be returned very ſhortlie, as I hear, by Mr. Stephen Wilſon, a fit miniſter for ſuch a deviliſh deviſe; if the coppie hereof may be gotten, that ſhall be ſent as I conveniently may. Monſieur Rambollet came to this toun upon Monday, he ſpoke that night to the queen and her huſband, but not long; the next day he held long conferences with them both, but nothing came to the knowledge of any whereof they intreated. I cannot ſpeak with any that hath any hope that there will be any good done for the lords by him, though it is ſaid that he hath very good will to do ſo to the uttermoſt of his power. He is lodged near to the court, and leaveth upon the queen's charges. Upon Sunday, the order is given, whereat means made to many to be preſent that day at the maſs. Upon Candlemas day there carried their candles with the queen, her huſband, the earl of Lennox, and earl of Athol, divers other lords have been called together and required to be at the maſs that day, ſome have promiſed, as Caſſels, Mongomerie, Seton, Cathneſs. Others have refuſed, as Fleming, Levingſton, Lindſay, Huntly and Bothel; and of them all, Bothel is the ſtouteſt, but worſt thought of; it was moved in council that maſs ſhould have been in St. Giles church, which I believe was rather to tempt mens minds, than intended indeed: She was of late minded again to ſend Robert Melvin to negociate with ſuch as ſhe truſteth in amongſt the queen's majeſty's ſubjects, of whoſe good willis this way I truſt

that the bruit is greater than the truth, but in these matters, her majesty is too wise not in time to be ware, and provide for the worst; some in that country are thought to be privie unto the bands and confederacie of which I have written, where of I am sure there is some things, tho' perchance of all I have not heard the truth, in this court divers quarles, contentions, and debates, nothing so much sought as to maintain mischief and disorder. David yet retaineth still his place, not without heart grief to many, that see their sovereign guided chiefly by such a fellow; the queen hath utterly refused to do any good to my lord of Argyll, and it is said that shall be the first voyage that she will make after she is delivered of being with child; the bruit is common that she is, but hardly believed of many, and of this, I can assure you, that there have of late appeared some tokens to the contrary.

No. XV. (p. 277.)

Part of a letter from the earl of Bedford and Mr. Tho. Randolph to the lords of the council of England from Berwick, 27th of March 1566. *An original in the Cotton. Library, Caligula b.* 10. *fol.* 372. (27th March, 1566.)

May it please your Honours,

HEARING, of so maynie matters as we do, and fyndinge such varietie in the reports, we have myche ado to decerne the veritie: which maketh us the slower and loother to put any thing in wryting, to the entente we wold not that your honours, and by you the queen's majestie, our sovereigne, should not be advertised but of the verie trothe as we can possible. To this end we thought good to send up captain Carewe, who was in Edinbourge at the tyme of the last attemptate, who spoke there with diverse, and after that with the queen's self and her husband conforme to that, which we have learned by others, and know by this reporte, we send the same, confirmed by the parties self, that were there present and assysters unto these that were executors of the acte.

This we fynde for certain, that the queen's husband being entered into a vehement suspicion of David, that by hym some thynge was committed, which was most

agaynſte the queen's honour, and not to be borne of his perte, fyrſte communicated his mynde to George Duglas, who fynding his ſorrows ſo great, ſought all the means he coulde to put ſome remedie to his grieff; and communicating the ſame unto my lord Ruthen by the king's commandment, no other waye coulde be found then that David ſhould be taken out of the waye. Wherein he was ſo earneſt and daylye preſſed the ſame, that no reſte coulde be had untyll it was put in execution. To this that was found good, that the lord Morton, and lord Lindſaye ſhould be made privie to th' intente that theie might have their friends at hande, yf neade, required; which cauſed them to aſſemble ſo mayny, as theie thought ſufficient againſt the tyme, that this determination of theirs ſhould be put in executione which was determined the ixth of this inſtante 3 daies afore the parliament ſhould begyne, at which tyme the ſayde lords were aſſured that the erles Argyle, Morraye, Rothes and their complyces ſhoide have been forfeited, yf the king could not be perſuaded through this means to be their friends; who for the deſyre he had that this intent ſhould take effect th' one waye, was content to yeilde, without all difficultie to t'other, with this condition, that theie ſhould give their conſents, that he might have the crowne matrimonial. He was ſo impatient to ſee theſe things he ſaw, and were daylye brought to his eares, that he daylye preſſed the ſaid lord Ruthen, that there might be no longer delay; and to the intent that myght manifeſte unto the world, that he approved the acte was contente to be at the doing of that himſelf.

Upon Saturday at night neire unto VIII of the clock the king conveyeth himſelf, the lord Ruthen, George Duglaſs, and two others, throwe his own chamber by the privy ſtayers up to the queen's chamber going to which there is a cabinet about XII foot ſquare; in the ſame a little low repoſing bed and a table, at the which theyr were ſitting at ſupper the queene, the lady Argile, and David with his capp upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forth, ſaying, that was no

place for him. The queen ſaid, that it was her will. Her howſband anſwerede, that yt was againſte her honour. The lord Ruthen ſaid, that he ſhould lerne better his deutie, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the blychtes of her gown and put himſelf behind the queen who wolde gladlee have ſaved him: But the king having looſed his hand, and holding her in his arms, David was thruſt out of the cabinet throw the bed chamber into the chamber of preſence, whar where the lord Morton the lord Lindſey, who intending that night to have reſerved hym, and the next day to hang him, ſo mane being about him, that bore him evil will, one thruſt him into the boddie with a dagger, and after hym a great many others, ſo that he had in his bodie above wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dager was left ſticking in him. Whether he ſtuck him or not we cannot be here certayn. He was not ſlayne in the queen's preſence, as was ſaid, but going down the ſtayers out of the chamber of preſence.

There remayned a long tyme with the queen her howſband and the lord Ruthen. She made, as we here, great interceſſion, that he ſhold have no harm. She blamed greatlee her howſband that was the actor of ſo foul a deed. It is ſaid, that he did anſwer, that David had more companie of her boddie than he for the ſpace of two months; and therefore for her honour and his own contentment he gave his conſent that he ſhould be taken away. "It is not" (ſaythe ſhe) "the woman's "part to ſeek the huſband," and therefore in that the fault was his own. He ſaid that when he came, ſhe either wold not or made herſelf ſick. "Well," ſayeth ſhe, "you have taken your laſt of me and your fare-"well." Then were pity, ſaith the lord Ruthen, he is your majeſty's huſband and muſt yield dutie to each other. "Why may I not," ſaythe ſhe, "leave him as "well as your wife did her huſband!" Other have done the like. The lord Ruthen ſaid that ſhe was lawfully divorced from her huſband, and for no ſuch cauſe as the king found himſelf greve. Beſydes this man was mean, baſſe, enemie to the nobility, ſhame to her,

and deſtruction to herſelf and country. "Well," ſaith ſhe, "That ſhall be dear blude to ſome of you, yf his "be ſpylt." God forbid, ſayth the lord Ruthen: for the more your grace ſhowe yourſelf offended, the world will judge the worſe.

Her huſband this tyme ſpeaketh litle, herſelf continually weepeth. The lord Ruthen being ill at eaſe and weak calleth for a drink, and ſayth, "This I muſt do "with your majeſties pardon," and perſuadeth her in the beſt ſort he could, that ſhe would pacify herſelf. Nothing that could be ſaid, could pleaſe her.

In this mean time, there roſe a nombre in the court; to pacify which there went down the lord Ruthen, who went ſtrayt to the erles Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol, to quiet them, and to aſſure them from the king that nothing was intend againſt them. Theſe notwithſtanding taking fear, when theie heard that my lord Murray wold be there the next day, and Argile meet them, Huntly and Bothwell both get out of a window and ſo depart. Atholl had leave of the king with Flyſh and Glandores (who was lately called Deyſley the perſon of Owne), to go where they wold, and bring concorde out of the court by the lord of Lidington. Theie went that night to ſuch places where they thought themſelves in moſt ſauftie.

Before the king leaft talk with the queen, in the hering of the lord Ruthen ſhe was content that he ſhould lie with her that night. We know not how he * * himſelf, but came not at her, and excuſed hymſelf to his friends, that he was ſo ſleepie, that he could not wake in due ſeaſon.

There were in this companie two that came in with the king; the one Andrewe Car of Fawdenſide, whom the queen ſayeth would have ſtroken her with a daggar, and one Patrick Balantine, brother to the juſtice clerk, who alſo her grace ſayth, offered a dagger againſt her belly with the cock down. We have been earneſtly in hand with the lord Ruthen to know the varitie; but he aſſureth us of the contrarie. There were in the queen's chamber the lord Robert, Arthur Arſkin, one or two others. They at the firſt offering to make a defence,

the lord Ruthven drawd his dagger and 4 mo weapons, then that were not drawn nor ſeen in her preſence, as we are by this lord aſſured.

[The letter afterwards gives an account of the flight to Dunbar caſtle, whither reſorted the lords Huntly and Bothwell: That the earl of Morton and lord Ruthven find themſelves left by the king for all his fair promiſes, bonds, and ſubſcriptions. That he had proteſted before the council, that he was never conſenting to the death of David, and that it is ſore againſt his will: "That of "the great ſubſtance David had there is much ſpoken, "ſome ſay in gold to the value of 11^{m}£. His apparel "was very good, as it is ſaid, 28 pair of velvet hoſe. "His chamber well furniſhed, armour, dagger, pyſto- "letts, harquebuſes, 22 ſwords. Of all this nothing "ſpoyld or lacked ſaving 2 or three daggers. He had "the cuſtody of all the queen's letters, which all were "delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a juill, that "he had hanging about his neck of ſome price, that "cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he "was ſlayne, a night gown of Damaſk furred, with a "ſattin doublet, a hoſe of ruſſet velvet."

No. XVI. (p. 284.)

Part of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 16, 1565-6.

——I Cannot tell what miſliking of late there hath been between her grace and her huſband, he preſſeth earneſtly for the matrimonial crown, which ſhe is loth haſtily to grant; but willing to keep ſomewhat in ſtore, until ſhe know how well he is worth to enjoy ſuch a ſovereignty: and therefore it is thought that the parliament for a time ſhall be deferred, but hereof I can write no certainty.

From Mr. Randolph's letter to ſecretary Cecil.

(4th April, 1566. Paper-office, from the original.)

THE juſtice clerk in hard terms, more for his brother's cauſe than any deſert, and as far as I can hear the king of all other in worſt, for neither hath the queen good opinion of him for attempting of any thing that was againſt her will, nor the people that he hath denied ſo manifeſt a matter, being proved to be done by his commandment, and now himſelf to be the

accuſer and purſuer of them that did as he willed them. This Scot, that was executed, and Murray that was yeſterday arraigned, were both accuſed by him. It is written to me, for certain, by one, that upon Monday laſt ſpoke with the queen, that ſhe is determined that the houſe of Lennox ſhall be as poor in Scotland as ever it was. The earl continueth ſick, ſore troubled in mind; he ſtaith in the abby, his ſon hath been once with him, and he once with the queen, ſince ſhe came to the caſtle. The queen hath now ſeen all the covenants and bands that paſſeth between the king and the lords, and now findeth that his declaration, before her and council, of his innocency of the death of David was falſe; and grievouſly offended that, by their means, he ſhould ſeek to come to the crown matrimonial.

Part of a letter from Randolph to Cecil from Berwick, 25th April, 1566.

—THERE is continually very much ſpeech of the diſcord between the queen and her huſband, ſo far that, that is commonly ſaid and believed of himſelf, that Mr. James Thornton is gone to Rome to ſue for a divorce between them. It is very certain that Malevaſier had not ſpoken with him within theſe three days. He is neither accompanied nor looked upon of any nobleman: attended upon by certain of his own ſervants, and ſix or ſeven of the guard; at liberty to do, and go where and what he will, they have no hope yet among themſelves of quietneſs.

—David's brother named Joſeph, who came this way with Malevaſier, unknown to any man here, is become ſecretary in his brother's place.

No. XVII. (p. 288.)

The earl of Bedford to Cecil, 3d Auguſt, 1566.

THE queen and her huſband agree after the old manner, or rather worſe. She eateth but very ſeldom with him, lieth not, nor keepeth company with him, nor loveth any ſuch as love him. He is ſo far out of her books, as at her going out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, to remove abroad, he knew nothing thereof. It cannot for modeſty, nor with the honour of a queen, be re-

ported what ſhe ſaid of him. One Hickman, an Engliſh merchant there, having a water ſpaniel which was very good, gave him to Mr. James Melvill, who afterwards, for the pleaſure, which he ſaw the king have in ſuch kind of dogs, gave him to the king. The queen thereupon fell marvellouſly out with Melvill, and called him diſſembler and flatterer, and ſaid ſhe could not truſt one, who would give any thing to ſuch one as ſhe loved not.

The earl of Bedford to Cecil, Aug. 8.

THE diſagreement between the queen and her huſband continueth, or rather increaſeth. Robert Melvill drawing homewards within twelve miles of Edinburgh, could not tell where to find the queen; ſith which time ſhe is come to Edinburgh, and had not twelve horſes attending on her. There was not then, nor that I can hear of ſince, any lord baron, or other nobleman in her company. The king her huſband is gone to Dumfermling, and paſſeth his time as well as he may; having at his farewell, ſuch countenance as would make a huſband heavy at the heart.

Sir John Forſter to Cecil, 8th Sept. from Berwick.

THE queen hath her huſband in ſmall eſtimation, and the earl of Lennox came not in the queen's ſight ſince the death of Davy,

Sir John Forſter to Cecil, 11th Dec.

THE earl of Bothwell is appointed to receive the ambaſſadors, and all things for the chriſtening are at his lordſhip's appointment, and the ſame is ſcarcely well liked of the nobility, as is ſaid. The king and queen is preſently at Craig-miller, but in little greater familiarity than he was all the while paſt.

Advertiſements out of Scotland from the earl of Bedford.

(Auguſt 1566. Paper office, from the original.)

THAT the king and queen agreed well together two days, after her coming from ——, and after my lord Murray's coming to Edinburgh, ſome new diſcord has happened. The queen hath declared to my lord of Murray that the king bears him evil will, and has ſaid to her, that he is determined to kill him, finding fault that ſhe doth bear him ſo much company: and in like manner hath willed my lord of Murray to ſpiere

the king, which he did a few nights ſince in the queen's preſence, and in the hearing of divers. The king confeſſed, that reports were made to him, that my lord of Murray was not his friend, which made him ſpeak that thing he repented; and the queen affirmed, that the king had ſpoken ſuch words unto her, and confeſſed before the whole houſe, that ſhe could not be content that either he or any other ſhould be unfriend to my lord of Murray. My lord of Murray enquired the ſame ſtoutly, and uſed his ſpeech very modeſtly, in the mean time the king departed very grieved; he cannot bear that the queen ſhould uſe familiarity either with man or woman, and eſpecially the ladies of Arguile, Murray, and Marre, who keep moſt company with her. My lord of Murray and Bothwell have been at evil words for the l. of Ledington, before the queen, for he and ſir James Balfoure had new come from Ledington with his anſwer upon ſuch heads of articles as Bothwell and he ſhould agree upon, which being reported to the ſaid earl in the queen's preſence, made anſwer, that ere he parted with ſuch lands as was deſired, he ſhould part with his life. My lord of Murray ſaid ſtoutly to him, that twenty as honeſt men as he ſhould loſe their lives ere he reaſt Ledington. The queen ſpake nothing, but heard both; in theſe termes they parted, and ſince, that I hear of, have not met. The queen after her hunting came to Edinburgh, and carrieth the prince thence to Stirling with her. This laſt Saturday was executed a ſervant of the lord Ruthven's, who confeſſed that he was in the cabinet, but not of council of the fact. The queen hath alſo opened to my lord of Murray, that money was ſent from the pope, how much it was, and by whom, and for what purpoſe it was brought.

No. XVIII. (p. 299)

Part of a letter from Elizabeth to Mary, Feb. 20, 1569. *A copy interlined by Cecil. It contains an anſwer to a complaining letter of Mary's upon the impriſonment of the biſhop of Roſs.*

AFTER this (i. e. Mary's landing in Scotland) how patiently did I bear with many vain delays in not

ratifying the treaty accorded by your own commiſſioners, whereby I received no ſmall unkindneſs, beſides the manifold cauſes of ſuſpicion that I might not hereafter truſt to any writings. Then followed a hard manner of dealing with me, to entice my ſubject and near kinſman, the lord Darnly, under colour of private ſuits for land, to come into the realm, to proceed in treaty of marriage with him without my knowledge, yea to conclude the ſame without my aſſent or liking. And how many unkind parts accompanied that fact, by receiving of my ſubjects that were baſe runnegates and offenders at home, and enhancing them to places of credit againſt my will, with many ſuch like, I will leave for that the remembrance of the ſame cannot but be noyſome to you. And yet all theſe did I as it were ſuppreſs and overcome with my natural inclination of love towards you; and did afterwards gladly, as you know, chriſten your ſon, the child of my ſaid kinſman, that had before ſo unloyally offended me, both in marriage of you, and in other undutiful uſages towards me his ſovereign. How friendly alſo dealt I by meſſages to reconcile him, being your huſband, to you, when others nouriſhed diſcord betwixt you, who as it ſeemed had more power to work their purpoſes, being evil to you both, than I had to do you good, in reſpect of the evil I had received. Well I will overpaſs your hard accidents that followed for lack of following my council, And then in your moſt extremity, when you was a priſoner indeed, and in danger of your life from your notorious evil willers, how far from my mind was the remembrance of any unkindneſs you had ſhewed me. Nay how void was I of reſpect to the deſigns which the world had ſeen attempted by you to my crown, and the ſecurity that might have enſued to my ſtate by your death, when I finding your calamity to be great, that you were at the pit's brink to have miſerably loſt your life, did not only intreat for your life, but ſo threatened ſome as were irritated againſt you, that I only may ſay it, even I was the principal cauſe to ſave your life.

No. XIX. (p. 314.)

Letter of Q. Elizabeth to Q. of Scotts. Thus marked on the back with Cecil's hand —Copia Literarum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Reginam Scotorum. VIII°. Aprilis.

[Paper-office.]

MADAME, vous ayant trop moleſtè par M. de Crocq, je n'euſſe eu ſi peu de conſideration de vous faſcher de cette lettre, ſi les liens de charitè vers les ruinez, et les prieres des miſerables ne m'y contraignaſſent. Je entens que un edit a etè divulguè de par vous, madame que ung chaſcun, que veult juſtifier que ons eſtè les meurtriers de votre feu mari, et mon feu couſin, viennent a le faire le XIIme de ce mois. La quelle choſe, comme c'eſt plus honorable et neceſſaire, qui en tel cas ſe pourra faire, ne y eſtant cachè quelque miſtere ou fineſſe, ainſi le pere et amis du mort gentlehomme m'ont humblement requis, que je vous priaſſe de prolongue le jour, pource qu'ilz cognoiſſent que les iniquies ſe ſont combinès par force de faire ceque par droict ils ne pourront pas faire; partant, je ne puis mais ſinon pour l'amour de vous meme, a qui il touche le plus, et pour la conſolation des innocens, de vous exhorter le leur conceder cette requeſte, laquelle, ſi elle les ſeroit niè, vous tourneroit grandement en ſoupçon, de plus que j'eſpere ne penſez, et que ne voudriez volontiers ouyr. Pour l'amour de Dieu, madame, uſez de telle ſinceritè & prudence en ce cas qui vos touche de ſi pres, que tout le monde aye raiſon, de vous livrer comme innocente d'ung erime ſi enorme, choſe que ſi ne fiſtes, ſeriez dignement eſbloyë hors de rancz de princeſſes, & non ſans cauſe faite opprobre de vulgaire, et plutot qve cela vous avienne, je vous ſouhaiterois une ſepulture honorable, qu'une vie maculeè; vous voiez madame, que je vous traite comme ma fille, et vous promets, que ſi j'en euſſe. ne luy ſouhaiterois mieuz, que je vous deſire, comme le Seigneur Dieu me porte teſmoignage, a qui je prie de bon cœur de vous inſpirer a faire ce qui vous ſera plus a honneur, et a vos amis plus de conſolation, avec mes tres cordialles recommendations comme a icelle a qui ſe ſouhaite le plus

de bien, qui vous pourra en ce monde avenir. De Weſt. ce 8 jour de Janviers en haſte.

No. XX. (p. 250.)

Account of the ſentence of divorce between the earl of Bothwell and lady Jean Gordon his wife. From a manuſcript belonging to Mr. David Falconer, advocate. Fol. 455.

UPON the 29 of Apryle 1567, before the richt hon. Mr. Robert Maitland dean of Aberdene, Mr. Edward Henryſon, doctor in the laws, two of the Senators of the college of juſtice, Mr. Clement Little, and Mr. Alexander Syme, advocattis, commiſſers of Edinr; compeered Mr. Henry Kinroſſe, procurator for Jean Gourdoune countes of Bothwell, continue be her for purſewing of ane proces of divorcement intendit by her contra James erle Bothwell her huſband for adultry, committed be him with Beſſie Crawfurde the purſuers ſervant for the time; and ſicklyke, for the ſaid erle, compeared Mr. Edmond Hay, who efter he had purſued and craved the purſuer's procurator's oath de calumnia, if he had juſt caus to purſew the ſaid action, and obtained it, denyed the libell, and the ſaid Mr. Harrie took the morne, the laſt day of Apryle, to prove the ſame pro prima. The quhilk day, having produced ſome witneſſes, he took the next day, being the 1 of May, to do farther diligence. Upon the quhilk 1 of May he produced ſome moe witneſſes, and renounced farther probatioune. After quhilk, he deſired a term to be aſſigned to pronounce ſentence. To whom the ſaid commiſſioners aſſigned Satterday next, the 3 of May, to pronounce ſentence therein, ſecundum allegata et probata, quilk accordingly was given that day in favour of the purſewar.

At the ſame time there was another proces intendit be the erl of Bothwell contra his lady, for to have their marriage declared nul, as being contracted againſt the canons without a diſpenſation, and he and his lady being within degrees defendand, viz. ferdis a kin, and that wyſe for expeding of this proces, there was a commiſſioune grantit to the Archbiſhop of St. Androis to cognoſce and determine it, and Rot biſhop of Dunkeld, William biſhop of Dumblane, Mr. Andro Craufurd

chanon in Glaſgow, and parſon of Egelſhame, Mr. Alexander Creightoun, and Mr. George Cooke chancellor of Dunkeld, and to Mr. Johne Manderſtoune chanon in Dunbar and prebendar of Beltoune, or any ane of them. This commiſſione is datit 27 Aprile 1565, was preſented to two of the ſaids commiſſioners, viz. Mr. And. Craufurd and Mr. Johne Manderſtoune on Satterday 3 May, by Mr. Thomas Hepburne parſon of Auldhamſtocks, procurator for the erl of Bothwell, who accepted the delegatioune, and gave out their citation by precept, directed, Decano Chriſtianitatis de Hadintone, nec non vicario ſeu curato eccle. parochiæ de Creichtoune, ſeu cuicunq; alteri capellano debite requiſitis, fer ſummoning at the ſaid erle's inſtance, both of the lady perſonally if ſhe could be had, or otherways at the paroſche kerk of Creichtoune the time of ſervice, or at her dwelling place before witneſſes, primo, ſecundo, tertio et peremptorie, unico tamen contextu protuplice edicto. And likewayſe to be witneſſes in the ſaid matter, Alex. biſhop of Galloway, who did marry the ſaid erle and his lady, in Halerudhouſe kirk, in Feb. 1565, ſir John Bannatyne of Achnoule, juſtice clerk, Mr. Robert Creichtoun of Elliok the queen's advocate, Mr. David Chalmers provoſt of Creichtoun and chancellor of Roſs, Michael —— abbot of Melroſs, and to compear before the ſaid judges or any one of them in St. Geils kirk in Edr on Monday the 5th of May, be themſelves, or their procurators. Upon the ſaid 5 day, Mr. John Manderſtoun, one of the judges delegate only being preſent, compeared the ſame procurators for both the parties that were in the former proces, Mr. Edmund Hay (articulatlie)* and ſome of the witneſſes ſummoned produced, and received for proving of the ſame. The ſaid procurator renounced farder probatioune, and the judge aſſigned the morne, the 6th of May, ad publicandum producta, nempe depoſitiones ipſorum teſtium. The quhilk day, poſt publicatas depoſitiones prædictas, Mr. Hen. Kinroſſee,

* Two words in the parentheſis illegible.

procurator for the lady inſtanter objecit objectiones juris generaliter, contra producta, inſuper renunciavit ulteriori defenſioni; poinde concluſa de conſenſu procuratorum hinc inde cauſa, judex predictus ſtatuit craſtinum diem pro termina, ad pronunciandum ſuam ſententiam definitivam, ex deductis coram eo, in preſenti cauſa et pro ceſſu Conform hereunto, on Wedneſday the 7th of May, the ſaid judge gave out his ſentence in favour of the erle, declaring the marriage to be, and to have been null from the beginning, in reſpect of their contingence in blood, which hindered their lawful marriage without a diſpenſation obtained of befoir.

No. XXI. (p. 326.)

A letter from England concerning the murder of king Henry Darnley.

(Earl of Morton's Archives. Bundle B. No. 25.)

HAVING the commodity of this bearer Mr. Clark, I tho't good to write a few words unto you. I have recd ſome writs from you; and ſome I have ſeen lately ſent to others from you, as namely to the earl of Bedford of the 16th of May. I have participat the contents thereof to ſuch as I thought meet, this mekle I can aſſure you; the intelligence given hither by the French was untrue, for there was not one papiſt nor proteſtant which did not conſent that juſtice ſhould be done, by the queen my ſovns aid and ſupport, againſt ſuch as had committed that abominable ill murder in your country; but to ſay truth, the lack and coldnes did not riſe from ſuch as were called to council, but from ſuch as ſhould give life and execution thereunto. And further, I aſſure you, I never knew no matter of ſtate proponed which had ſo many favourers of all ſorts of nations as this had: yea, I can ſay unto you, no man promoted the matter with greater affection than the Spaniſh ambaſſador. And ſure I am that no man dare openly be of any other mind, but to affirm that whoſoever is guilty of this murder handfaſted with advoutre, is unworthy to live. I ſhall not need to tell you, which be our letts, and ſtays from all good things here. You are acquainted with them as well as I Needs I muſt confeſs, that howſoever we omit occaſions of benefit, honour,

and ſurety; it behoveth your whole nobility, and namely ſuch as before and after the murder were deemed to allow of Bodwell, to proſecute with ſword and juſtice the puniſhment of thoſe abominable acts, though we lend you but a cold aid, and albeit you, and divers others, both honourable and honeſt, be well known to me, and ſundry others, here, to be juſtifiable in all their actions and doings; yet think not the contrary but your whole nation is blemiſhed and infamit by theſe doings which lately paſſed among you. What we ſhall do I know not, neither do I write unto you aſſuredly, for we be ſubject unto many mutations, and yet I think we ſhall either aid you, or continue in the defence and ſafeguard of your prince, ſo as it appear to us that you mean his ſafeguard indeed, and not to run the fortune of France, which will be your own deſtruction if you be unadviſed. I know not one, no not one of any quality or ſtate in this country, which does allow of the queen your ſovereign, but would gladly the world were rid of her, ſo as the ſame were done without farther ſlander, that is to ſay by ordinary juſtice. This I ſend the 23d of May.

No. XXII. (p. 4, vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from Sir Nicolas Throkmorton to Cecil, 11th of July 1567. from Berwick.

(An original. Paper-office.)

—SIR, your letter of the 6th of July, I received the 10th at Berwick. I am ſorry to ſee that the queen's majeſty's diſpoſition altereth not towards the lords, for when all is done, it is they which muſt ſtand her more in ſtead, than the queen her couſin, and will be better inſtruments, to work ſome benefite and quietneſs to her majeſty and her realm, than the queen of Scotland which is void of good fame.

A letter from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Cecil, from Faſtcaſtle, 12th of July 1567. (Paper office.)

SIR, as you might perceive by my letter of the 11th July, I lodged at Faſtcaſtle that night, accompanyed with the lord Hume, the lord of Ledington, and James Melvin, where I was entreated very well, according to the ſtate of that place, which is fitter to lodge priſoners than folks at liberty, as it is very little, ſo it is very

ſtrong. By the conference I have had with the lord of Ledington I find the lords his aſſociates and he hath left nothing unthought of, which may be either to thir danger, or work them ſurety, wherein they do not forget what good and harme France may do them, and likewiſe they conſider the ſame of England; but as farr as I can perceive, to be plain with yow, they find more perril to grow unto them through the queen's majeſty's dealings than either they do by the French, or by any contrary faction among themſelves, for they aſſure themſelves the queen will leave them in the bryers if they run her fortoun, and though they do acknowledge great benefit as well to them, as to the realm of England by her majeſty's doings at Leith, whereof they ſay mutually her majeſty and both the realms have received great fruit: yet upon other accidents which have chanced ſince, they have obſerved ſuch things in her majeſty's doings as have ended to the danger of ſuch as ſhe hath dealt withal, to the overthrow of your own deſignments, and little to the ſurety of any party: and upon theſe conſiderations and diſcourſes at length, methinketh I find a diſpoſition in them, that either they mind to make their bargain with France, or elſe to deal neither with France nor yow, but to do what they ſhall think meet for their ſtate and ſurety, and to uſe their remedy as occaſions ſhall move them; meaning neither to irritate France nor England, until ſuch time as they have made their bargain aſſuredly with one of yow; for they think it convenient to proceed with yow both for a while pari paſſu, for that was my lord of Ledington's terms. I do perceave they take the matter very unkindly, that no better anſwer is made to the letter, which the lords did ſend to her majeſty, and likewiſe that they hear nothing from yow to their ſatisfaction, I have anſwered as well as I can, and have alledged their own proceedings ſo obſcurely with the queen, and their uncertainty hath occaſioned this that is yet happened, and therefore her majeſty hath ſent me to the end I may inform her throughly of the ſtate of the matters, and upon the declaration of their minds and intents to ſuch purpoſes as ſhall be by me propoſed on her majeſty's behalf unto them, they ſhall be reaſon-

ably and reſolutely anſwered. At theſe things the lord of Ledington ſmiled and ſhook his head, and ſaid it were better for us yow would let us alone, than neither to do us nor yourſelves good, as I fear me in the end that will prove; Sr if there be any truth in Ledington, le Crocq is gone to procure Ramboilet his coming hither or a man of like quality, and to deliver them of their queen for ever, who ſhall lead her life in France, in an abbey recluſed, the prince at the French devotion, the realm governed by a counſel of their election of the Scottiſh nation, the forts committed to the cuſtody of ſuch as ſhall be choſen amongſt themſelves, as yet I find no great likelihood that I ſhall have acceſs to the queen, it is objected they may not ſo diſpleaſe the French king, unleſs they were ſure to find the queen of England a good friend; and when they once by my acceſs to the queen have offended the French, then they ſay yow will make your profit thereof to their undoing; and as to the queen's liberty, which was the firſt head that I propoſed, they ſaid that thereby they did perceive that the queen wants their undoing, for as for the reſt of the matters it was but folly to talk of them, the liberty going before; but ſaid they, if you will do us no good, do us no harm, and we will provide for our ſelves. In the end they ſaid, we ſhould refuſe our own commodity, before they concluded with any other, which I ſhould hear of at my coming to Edinr; by my next I hope to ſend you the band concluded by Hamiltons, Argyll, Huntly, and that faction, not ſo much to the prejudice of the lords of Edinr, as that which was ſent into France; thus having no more leiſure, but compelled to leap on horſeback with the lords to go to Edinr, I humbly take my leave of from Faſtcaſtle the 12th of July 1567.

To Sir Nicolas Throkmorton being in Scotland. By the queen, the 14th July 1567.

TRUSTY and well beloved we greet you well, though we think that the cauſes will often change upon variety of accidents, yet we think for ſundry reſpects, not amiſs, that as you ſhall deal with the lords having charge of the young prince for the committing of him into our

realm, ſo ſhall yow alſo do well in treaty with the queen, to offer her that where her realm appeareth to be ſubject to ſundry troubles from time to time, and thereby (as it is manifeſt) her ſon cannot be free, if ſhe ſhall be contented that her ſon may enjoy ſurety and quietneſs, within this our realm, being ſo near as ſhe knows it is; we ſhall not faill to yield her as good ſurety therein for her child, as can be deviſed for any that might be our child born of our own body, and ſhall be glad to ſhew to her therein the trew effect of nature; and herein ſhe may be by yow remembered how much good may enſue to her ſon to be nouriſhed and acquainted with our country; and therefore all things conſidered, this occaſion for her child, were rather to be ſought by her and the friends of him, than offered by us; and to this end, we mean that yow ſhall ſo deal with her, both to ſtay her indeed from inclining to the French practice, which is to us notorious, to convey her and the prince into France, and alſo to avoid any juſt offence, that ſhe might hereafter conceive, if ſhe ſhould hear that we ſhould deal with the lords for the prince.

Sir Nicolas Throkmorton to queen Elizabeth, 14th July 1567, from Edinburgh.

(An original. Paper-office.)

IT may pleaſe your majeſty to be advertiſed, I did ſignifie unto Mr. Secretary by my letters of the 11th and 12th of July, the day of mine entry into Scotland, the cauſes of my ſtay, my lodging at Faſtcaſtle, a place of the lord Hume's, where I was met by the ſaid lord and by the lord Lidington, and what had paſſed in conference betwixt us, whileſt I was at the ſaid Faſtcaſtle. Since which time, accompanyed with the lords aforeſaid, and with 400 horſes by their appointment for my better conduct, I came to Edinr the 12th of this preſent. The 13th being Sunday appointed for a ſolemne communion in this town, and alſo a ſolemne faſt being publiſhed, I could not have conference with the lords which he aſſembled within this town as I deſired, that is to ſay, the earls of Athole, and Morton, the lord Hume, the lord of Lidington, ſir James Balfour captain of the

caſtle, Mr. James M'Gill, and the preſident of the ſeſſion.

Nevertheleſs I made means by the lord of Lidington that they would uſe no protracte of time in mine audience, ſo did I likewiſe to the earl of Morton, whom I met by chance; I was anſwered by them both, that albeit the day were deſtined to ſacred exerciſes, ſuch as were there of the council would conſult upon any moyen touching my acceſs unto them and my conference with them, and ſaid alſo, that in the afternoon either they would come to me, or I ſhould hear from them. About 4 of the clock in the afternoon, the ſaid 13th day, the lord of Lidington came to my lodgings, and declared unto me on the behalf of the lords and others, that they required me to have patience, though they had defferred my conference with them, which was grounded principally upon the abſence of the earles of Mar and Glencairn, the lords Semple, Crighton, and others of the council, ſaying alſo that they did conſider the matters which I was on your behalf to treat with them of, were of great importance, as they could not ſatisfy nor conveniently treat with me, nor give me anſwer without the advice of the lords, and others their aſſociates; the lord of Lidington alſo ſaid unto me, that where he perceived, by his private conference with me in my journey hitherwards that I preſſed greatly to have ſpeedy acceſes to the queen their ſovereign, he perceived, by the lords and others which were here, that in that matter there was great difficulty for many reſpects, but ſpecially becauſe they had refuſed to the French ambaſſador the like acceſs, which being granted unto me, might greatly offend the French, a matter which they deſired and intended to eſchew; for they did not find by your majeſty's dealings with them hitherto, that it behoved them to irritate the French king and to loſe his favour and good intelligence with him: I anſwered, that as to their refuſal made unto the French ambaſſador, monſieur de Ville Roye was diſpatched forth of France before theſe accidents here happened, and his ſpecial errand was to impeach the queen's marriage with the earl of Bothel (for ſo indeed

ſince my coming hither I learned his commiſſion tended to that end, and to make offer to the queen of another marriage), and as to monſieur de Crocq, he could have no order forth of France concerning theſe matters, ſince they happened; and therefore they might very well hold them ſuſpected to have conference with the queen, leaſt they might treate of matters in his time without inſtructions, and ſo rather do harm than good; but your majeſty being advertized of all things which had chanced, had ſent me hither to treat with them, for the well of the realm, for the converſation of their honours and credit, and for their ſurety; and I might boldly ſay unto him, that your majeſty had better deſerved than the French had. He ſaid, for his own part, he was much bound unto your majeſty, and had always found great favour and courteſy in England; but to be plain with you, ſir, ſayed he, there is not many of this aſſembly that have found ſo great obligation at the queen your ſovereign's hands, as at the French king's, for the earles of Morton and Glencairn be the only perſons which took benefit by the queen's majeſty's aid at Leith, the reſt of the noblemen were not in the action; and we think, ſaid he, the queen's majeſty your ſovereign, by the opinion of her own council, and all the world, took as great benefit by that charge as the realm of Scotland, or any particular perſon; and not to talk with you as an ambaſſiador, but with ſir Nicolas Throckmorton, my lord Morton, and ſuch as were in pain for the death of Davie, found but cold favour of the queen's majeſty's hands, when they were baniſhed forth of their own country; but I would all our whole company were as well willing to accompliſh the queen your ſovereign intents and deſires as I am; for mine own part, I am but one, and that of the meaneſt ſort, and they be many noblemen and ſuch as have great intereſt in the matter, mary yow ſhall be aſſured I will employ myſelf to employ my credit, and all that I may do, to ſatisfie the queen your miſtreſs, as much as lyeth in me, and for your own part you have a great many friends in this aſſembly, with many other good words. But for concluſion I muſt take this for an anſwer to ſtay until

the other lords were come, and thereupon I thought meet to advertize your majeſty what hath paſſed, and how far forth I have proceeded; your expectation being great to hear from hence.

And now to advertize your majeſty of the ſtate of all things, as I have learned ſince my coming hither, it may pleaſe your majeſty to underſtand as followeth,

The queen of Scotland remaineth in good health in the caſtle of Lochleven, guarded by the lord Linſay and Lochleven the owner of the houſe; for the lord Ruthven is employed in another commiſſion, becauſe he began to ſhow great favour to the queen, and to give her intelligence. She is waited on with 5 or 6 ladys, 4 or 5 gentlewomen, and 2 chamberers, whereof one is a French woman. The earle of Buchan, the earle of Murray's brother, hath alſo liberty to come to her at his pleaſure; the lords aforeſaid, which have her in guard, doe keep her very ſtraitly, and as far as I can perceive, their rigour proceedeth by their order from theſe men, becauſe that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to proſecute the murder, nor will not conſent by any perſwaſion to abandon the lord Bothell for her huſband, but avoweth conſtantly that ſhe will live and die with him; and ſaith that if it were put to her choice to relinquiſh her crown and kingdom, or the lord Bothell, ſhe would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go as a ſimple damſell with him, and that ſhe will never conſent that he ſhall fare worſe or have more harm than herſelf.

And as far as I can perceive, the principal cauſe of her detention is, for that theſe lords do ſee the queen being of ſo fervent affection towards the earle Bothell as ſhe is, and being put at, as they ſhould be compelled to be in continuall arms, and to have occaſion of many battles, he being with manifeſt evidence notoriouſly detected to be the principal murderer, and the lords meaning proſecution of juſtice againſt him according to his merits.

The lords mean alſo a divorce betwixt the queen and him, as a marriage not to be ſuffered for many reſpects,

which ſeparation cannot take place if the queen be at liberty, and have power in her hands.

They do not alſo forget their own perill, conjoined with the danger of the prince, but as far as I can perceave, they intend not either to touch the queen in ſurety or in honour, for they do ſpeak of her with reſpect and reverence, and do affirm, as I do learn, that the conditions aforeſaid accompliſhed, they will both put her to liberty, and reſtore her to her eſtate.

Theſe lords have for the guard of their town 450 harquebuſhers which be in every good order, for the entertainment of which companys, until all matters be compounded, they did ſue unto your majeſty, to aid them with ſuch ſum of money as hath been mentioned to Mr. Secretary by the lord of Lydington's writing, amounting as I perceive to ten or twelve thouſand crowns of the

They were lately advertized that the French king doth mind to ſend hither monſieur de la Chapell des Urſine, a knight of the French order, and always well affectionate to the houſe of Guyſe, and howſoever la Foreſt, Villaroy, and du Crocq have uſed language in the queen's favour and to theſe lords diſadvantage there, to your majeſty; la Crocq doth carry with him ſuch matter as ſhall be little to the queen's advantage, ſo as it is thought the French king, upon his coming to his preſence, will rather ſatisfie the lords, than pleaſure the queen; for they have their party ſo well made, as the French will rather make their profit by them, than any other way.

Herewith I ſend your majeſty the laſt bond agreed on, and ſigned by the Hamiltons, the earl of Argyll, Huntly, and ſundry others at Dumbarton.

Nevertheleſs, ſince my coming to this town, the Hamiltons have ſent unto me a gentleman of their ſurname named Robert Hamilton, with a letter from the biſhop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Arbroath, the copy whereof I ſend your majeſty and mine anſwer unto them, referring to the bearer the declaration of ſome things, as theſe did by him unto me.

The earle of Argyll, hath in like manner, ſent an-

other unto me with a letter and credit, I have uſed him as I did the others, the copy of both which letters I ſend to your majeſty alſo. The lord Harrys hath alſo ſent unto me but not written, and I have returned unto him in like ſort.

Againſt the 20th day of this month there is a generall aſſembly of all the churches, ſhires, and boroughs towns of this realm, namely of ſuch as be contented to repair to theſe lords to this town, where it is thought the whole ſtate of this matter will be handled, and I fear me much to the queen's diſadvantage and danger; unleſs the lord of Lidington and ſome others which be beſt affected unto her do provide ſome remedy; for I perceave the great number, and in manner all, but chiefly the common people, which have aſſiſted in theſe doings, do greatly diſhonour the queen, and mind ſeriouſly either her deprivation, or her deſtruction; I uſed the beſt means I can (conſidering the furie of the world here) to prorogue this aſſembly, for that appeareth to me to be the beſt remedy: I may not ſpeak of diſſolution of it, for that may not be abiden, and I ſhould thereby bring myſelf into great hatred and peril. The chieſeſt of the lords which be here preſent at this time dare not ſhow ſo much lenity to the queen as I think they could be contented, for fear of the rage of the people. The women be moſt furious and impudent againſt the queen, and yet the men be mad enough; ſo as a ſtranger over buſie may ſoon be made a ſacrifice amongſt them.

There was a great bruit that the Hamiltons with their adherents would put their force into the fields againſt the 24th of this month, but I do not find that intent ſo true, as the common bruit goeth.

The earl of Argyll is in the Highlands, where there is trouble among his own countrymen.

The earl of Lennox is by theſe lords much deſired here, and I do believe your majeſty may ſo uſe him, and direct him, as he ſhall be able to promote your purpoſe with theſe men.

The earl of Argyll, the Hamiltons and he be incom-

patible. —— I do find amongſt the Hamiltons, Argyll and the company two ſtrange and ſundry humours.

Hamiltons do make ſhow of the liberty of the queen, and proſecute that with great earneſtneſs, becauſe they would have theſe lords deſtroy her, rather than ſhe ſhould be recovered from them by violence; another time they ſeem to deſire her liberty and Bothwell's deſtruction, becauſe they would compaſs a marriage betwixt the queen and the lord of Arbroth.

The earl of Argyll doth affect her liberty, and Bothwell's deſtruction, becauſe he would marry the queen to his brother.

And yet neither of them, notwithſtanding their open concurrence, (as appeareth by their bond), doth diſcover their minds to each other, nor mind one end; Knox is not here, but in the weſt parts, he and the reſt of the miniſters will be here at the great aſſembly, whos auſterity againſt the queen I fear as much as any man's.

By ſome conference which I had with ſome of his council, me thinketh that they have intelligence that there is a diſpoſition in the queen of Scotland to leave this realm, and to retire herſelf into either England or into France, but moſt willingly into England, for ſuch —— and miſlikeings as ſhe knoweth hath been, and is meant unto her in France, leaving the regiment either to a number of perſons deleagued, and authorized by her, or to ſome one or more.

And it pleaſe your majeſty, I think it not amiſs to put yow in remembrance, that in caſe the ſaid queen come into England by your allowance, without the French king's conſent, ſhe ſhall looſe her dowery in France, and have little or nothing from hence to entertain her; and in caſe ſhe do go into France with the king's contentment, ſhe may be an inſtrument (if ſhe can recover favour, as time will help to cancell her diſgrace) either by matching with ſome huſband of good quality, or by ſome other deviſe, to work new unquietneſs to her own contry, and ſo conſequently to your majeſty's.

Therefore it may pleaſe your majeſty to conſider of this matter, and to let me know your pleaſure with con-

venient ſpeed, how I ſhall anſwer the ſame, if it be propounded unto me, either by the queen or by the council, as a piece of the end and compoſition. For I am ſure, of late, ſhe hath ſeemed very deſirous to have the matter brought to paſs that ſhe might go into England, retaining her eſtate and juriſdiction in herſelf, though ſhe do not exerciſe it; and likewiſe I underſtand that ſome of this council which be leaſt affected to her ſafety do think there is no other way to ſave her. Thus Almighty God preſerve your majeſty in health, honour, and all felicity; at Edin^r the 14th July 1567.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to queen Elizabeth, the 18th of July 1567, from Edinburgh.

(An original. Paper-office.)

It may pleaſe your majeſty, yow might perceive by my letters of the 16th, how far I had proceeded with theſe lords, and what was their anſwer: ſince which time I have ſpoken particularly with the earle Morton, the lord of Lidington, and ſir James Balfour captain of this caſtle, at whoſe hands I cannot perceave that as yet acceſs to the queen to Lochleven will be granted me, ſtaying themſelves ſtill by the abſence of the lords and others their aſſociates, which (they ſay) they look for within two days; and for that I find, by likelihood and apparent preſumptions, that mine acceſs to the queen will hardly be granted, I have thought good not to defer this diſpatch until I have a reſolute anſwer in that matter.

May it therefore pleaſe your majeſty, to underſtand Robert Melvin returned from the queen in Lochlevin, to this town the 6th of July, and brought a letter from her written of her own hand to theſe lords, which doth contain, as I underſtand, matter as followeth:—A requeſt unto them to have conſideration of her health, and if they will not put her to liberty, to change the place of reſtraint to the caſtle of Stirling, to the end ſhe might have the comfort and company of her ſon, and if they will not change her from Lochlevin, ſhe required to have ſome other gentlewoman about her, naming none.

To have her apothecary, to have ſome modeſt miniſter.——To have an embroiderer to draw forth ſuch work as ſhe would be occupied about, and to have a varlet of the chamber.——Touching the government of the realm ſhe maketh two offers, which are but generally touched in her letter, the particularitys be not ſpecified, but referred to Robert Melvin's credit; the one is to commit it only and wholly to the earle of Murray, the other is to the lords whoſe names enſue, aſſiſted with ſuch others as they ſhall call unto them, that is to ſay, the duke of Chattelherault, the earls of Morton, Murray, Marr, and Glencairn.

She hath written unto them that I might have acceſs unto her.——She requireth further, that if they will not treat her and regard her as their queen, yet to uſe her as the king their ſovereign's daughter, (whom many of them knew), and as their prince's mother.—She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her huſband, nor relinquiſh him; which matter will do her moſt harm of all, and hardeneth theſe lords to great ſeverity againſt her.

She yieldeth in words to the proſecution of the murder.

I have the means to let her know that your majeſty hath ſent me hither for her relief.

I have alſo perſuaded her to conform herſelf to renounce Bothwell for her huſband, and to be contented to ſuffer a divorce to paſs betwixt them: ſhe hath ſent me word that ſhe will in no wiſe conſent unto that, but rather die; grounding herſelf upon this reaſon, taking herſelf to be ſeven weeks gone with child; by renouncing Bothwell, ſhe ſhould acknowledge herſelf to be with child of a baſtard, and to have forfeited her honour, which ſhe will not do to die for it: I have perſuaded her to ſave her own life and her child, to chooſe the leaſt hard condition.

Mr. Knox arrived here in this town the 6th of this month with whom I have had ſome conference, and with Mr. Creig alſo, the other miniſter of this town.

I have perſwaded with them to preach and perſwad lenity, I find them both very auſtere in this conference, what

they ſhall do hereafter I know not, they are furniſhed with many arguments, ſome forth of the ſcripture, ſome forth of hiſtories, ſome grounded (as they ſay) upon the laws of this realm, ſome upon practices uſed in this realm, and ſome upon the conditions and oath made by their prince at her coronation.

The biſhop of Galloway, uncle to the earl of Huntley, hath ſent hither to theſe lords, that his nephew the earle and ſome others of that ſide may, at Linlithgow or at Stirling, have ſome communication with ſome appointed on this ſide, aſſuring them that there is a good diſpoſition in the lords of the other party to concurre with theſe, aſſuring further that they will not diſſent for triffles or unneceſſary things, and (as I am given to underſtand) they can be pleaſed the queen's reſtraint be continued until the murder be purſued in all perſons, whereby the ſeparation of the queen and Bothell is employed, the preſervation of the prince, the ſecurity for all men, and a good order taken for the governance of the realm in tranquillity.

Captain Clerk, which hath ſo long ſerved in Denmark and ſerved at Newhaven, did the 16th of this month (accompanied with one of his ſoldiers, or rather the ſoldier as the greater fame goeth) kill one Wilſon a ſeaman, and ſuch a one as had great eſtimation with theſe lords both for his ſkill, his hardyneſs, honeſty, and willingneſs in this action; whereupon Clerk hath retired himſelf; their quarrel was about the ſhip which took Blacketer, which ſhip was appointed by theſe lords to go to the north of Scotland to impeach the paſſage of the earle Bothwell, in caſe he went either to the iſles, or to any other place; by the death of this man this enterprize was daſhed.

The biſhop of Galloway is come to Linlithgow, and doth deſire to ſpeak with the Lord of Lidington.

The abbot of Kilwinning hath ſent for ſir James Balfour, captain of the caſtle, to have conference with him.

As I wrote unto your majeſty in my laſt, the Hamiltons now find no matter to diſever theſe lords and them aſunder, but would concur in all things (yea in any extremity againſt the queen) ſo as that they might be aſ-

ſured the prince of Scotland were crouned king, and ſhould die without iſſue, that the earle of Lennox's ſon living ſhould not inherit the croun of this realm, as next heir to his nephew.

And although the lords and councelors ſpeak reverently, mildly, and charitably of their queen, ſo as I cannot gather by their ſpeech any intention to cruelty or violence, yet I do find by intelligence, that the queen is in very great peril of her life, by reaſon that the people aſſembled at this convention do mind vehemently the deſtruction of her.

It is a public ſpeech amongſt all the people, and amongſt all eſtates (ſaving of the counſellors) that their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery, than any other private perſon, either by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm.

The earl of Bothell, and all his adherents and aſſociates, be put to the horn by the ordinary juſtice of this town, named the lords of the ſeſſion; and commandment given to all ſheriffs, and all other officers, to apprehend him, and all other his followers and receiptors. —The earl of Bothwell's porter, and one of his other ſervitors of his chamber, being apprehended, have confeſſed ſuch ſundry circumſtances, as it appeareth evidently, that he the ſaid earl was one of the principal executors of the murder, in his own perſon accompanyed with ſundry others, of which number I cannot yet certainly learn the names but of three of them, that is to ſay, two of the Ormiſtons of Tivotdall, and one Hayborn of Bolton; the lords would be glad that none of the murderers ſhould have any favour or receipt in England, and hereof their deſire is, that the officers upon the border may be warned; Bothell doth ſtill remain in the north parts, but the lord Seaton and Fleming, which have been there, have utterly abandoned him, and do repair hitherwards.—The intelligence doth grow daily betwixt theſe lords, and thoſe which held of; and notwithſtanding theſe lords have ſent an hundred and fifty harquebuſhers to Stirling, to keep the town and paſſage from ſurprize; and ſo have they done in like manner to St. Johnſton, which be the two paſſages from the north,

and weſt to this town, I do underſtand the captain of Dunbar is much buſied in fortifying that place, I do mervile the carriages be not impeached otherwiſe than they be.

Of late this queen hath written a letter to the captain of the ſaid caſtle, which hath been ſurpriſed, and thereby matter is diſcovered which maketh little to the queen's advantage.

Thus, having none other matter worthy your majeſty's knowledge I beſeech God to proſper your majeſty with long life, perfect health, and proſperous felicity. At Edinburgh the 18th of July 1567.

Letter of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the right honourable the earl of Leiceſter, knt. of the order, and one of the lords of her majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

[24th of July 1567. Paper-office, from the original.]

BY my former diſpatches ſent to her majeſty, and Mr. Secretary, ſince the 12th of July, your lordſhip might have perceived the ſtate of this country, and to what end theſe matters be like to come: ſo as not to trouble your lordſhip with many words; this queen is like very ſhortly to be deprived of her royal eſtate, her ſon to be crowned king, and ſhe detained in priſon within this realm, and the ſame to be governed, in the young king's name, by a council, conſiſting of certain of the nobility, and other wiſe men of this realm; ſo as it is eaſy to be ſeen that the power and ability to do any thing to the commodity of the queen's majeſty, and the realm of England, will chiefly, and in manner wholly, reſt in the hands of theſe lords, and others their aſſociates, aſſembled at Edinburgh. Now if the queen's majeſty will ſtill perſiſt in her former opinion towards the queen of Scotland (unto whom ſhe ſhall be able to do no good), then I do plainly ſee that theſe lords and all their accomplices will become as good French, as the French king can wiſh, to all intents and purpoſes. And as for the Hamiltons, the earls of Arguile, Huntlye, and that faction, they be already ſo far inchanted that way, as there needeth little device to draw them to the French devotion. Then this is the ſtate of things ſo come to

paſs in this country, that France has Scotland now as much conjoined unto them, to all purpoſes, as ever it was; and what an inſtrument, the young prince will prove, to unquiet England, I report me to your lordſhips wiſdoms, and therefore conſidering the weight of the matter, and all the circumſtances, I truſt your lordſhips will well bethink you in time, (for 'tis high time,) how to adviſe her majeſty, to leave nothing undone that may bring the prince of Scotland to be in her poſſeſſion, or at the leaſt, to be at her devotion. And amongſt other things, that I can imagine, for the firſt degree nothing is more meet to bring this to effect, than to allure this company here aſſembled, to bear her majeſty this favour. Some talk hath paſſed between the lord of Liddington and me, in certain conferences, about this matter. By him I find, that when her majeſty ſhall have won theſe men to her devotion, the principal point that will make them conformable to deliver their prince into England, will reſt upon the queen, and the realms enabling him to the ſucceſſion of the crown of England, for fault of iſſue of the queen's majeſty's body, ſome other things will alſo be required, as the charge of the ſaid prince and his train to be at the charge of England. I do well perceive that theſe men will never be brought to deliver their prince into England, without the former condition, for the ſucceſſion of England; for (ſaith Liddington) that taking place, the prince ſhall be as dear to the people of England as to the people of Scotland; and the one will be as careful of his preſervation as the other. Otherwiſe, he ſaith, all things conſidered, it will be reported that the Scottiſhmen have put their prince to be kept in ſafety, as thoſe which commit the ſheep to be kept by the wolves. So as for concluſion, your lordſhips may perceive here will be the ſcope of this matter. As unto the delivering of him upon hoſtages, he ſayeth, let no man think, that the condition of the ſucceſſion not being accompliſhed, the nobility and the gentry will never conſent to leave themſelves deſtitute of their ſovereign, upon any hoſtages, neither upon any promiſes, nor likelihood of good to iſſue in time to come. It were not good for yourſelves (ſaith he) that the matter were

ſo handled; for then you ſhould adventure all your goods in one ſhip, which might have a dangerous effect, conſidering the unwillingneſs of the queen your ſovereign to conſent to eſtabliſhing any ſucceſſor to the crown And then, how unmete were it, that her majeſty having in her poſſeſſion already all ſuch perſons as do pretend to it, or be inheritable to the crown, to have our prince alſo in her cuſtody. For ſo there might follow, without good capitulations, a ſtrange and dangerous iſſue, tho' the queen your miſtreſs do think that ſuch imaginations could not proceed but from buſy heads, as you have uttered unto us on her behalf. What is come to paſs ſince my laſt diſpatch, and how far forth things are proceeded, I refer your lordſhip to be informed by my letters ſent unto her majeſty, at this time. And ſo I pray Almighty God, preſerve your lordſhip in much honour and felicity. At Edinburgh this 24th of July 1567.

It may pleaſe your good lordſhip to make my lord Stuard partner of this letter.

The queen to Sir Nicolas Throkmorton.

By the queen.
(6th Auguſt 1567.)

TRUSTY and right well beloved, we greet you well, for as much as we do conſider that you have now a long time remained in thoſe parts without expedition in the charge committed unto you, we think it not meet, ſeeing there hath not followed the good acceptation and fruit of our well meaning towards that ſtate, which good reaſon would have required, that you ſhould continue there any longer, our pleaſure, therefore, is, that you ſhall, immediately upon the receipt hereof, ſend your ſervant Middlemore unto the lords and eſtates of that realm, that are aſſembled together, willing him to declare unto them, that it cannot but ſeem very ſtrange unto us, that you having been ſent from us, of ſuch good intent, to deal with them, in matters tending ſo much to their own quiet, and to the benefit of the whole eſtate of their country, they have ſo far forgotten themſelves, and ſo ſlightly regarded us and our good meaning, not only in delaying to hear you, and deferring

your acceſs to the queen their ſovereign, but alſo, which is ſtrangeſt of all, in not vouchſafing to make any anſwer unto us. And altho' theſe dealings be ſuch, indeed, as were not to be looked for at their hands, yet do we find their uſage and proceeding towards their ſoveraign and queen, to overpaſs all the reſt in ſo ſtrange a degree, as we for our part, and we ſuppoſe the whole world beſides, cannot but think them to have therein gone ſo far beyond the duty of ſubjects, as muſt needs remain to their perpetual tauche for ever. And therefore ye ſhall ſay, that we have tho't good, without conſuming any longer time in vain, to revoke you to our preſence, requiring them to grant you licence and paſport ſo to do, which when you ſhall have obtained, we will that you make your repair hither, unto us, with as convenient ſpeed as you may. Given, &c.

Indorſed 6th Auguſt 1567.

Throkmorton to the right honourable Sir William Cecil knight, one of her majeſty's privy council and principal ſecretary, give theſe.

12th Aug. 1567. Paper office. From the original.

SIR,

WHAT I have learned, ſince the arrival of my lord Murray, and Monſ. de Linnerol, you ſhall underſtand by my letter to her majeſty, at this time. The French do, in their negotiations, as they do in their drink, put water to their wine. As I am able to ſee into their doings, they take it not greatly to the heart how the queen ſleep, whether ſhe live or die, whether ſhe be at liberty or in prizon. The mark they ſhoot at, is, to renew their old league; and can be as well contented to take it of this little king (howſoever his title be), and the ſame by the order of theſe lords, as otherwiſe. Lyneroll came but yeſterday, and methinketh he will not tarry long; you may gueſs how the French will ſeek to diſpleaſe theſe lords, when they changed the coming of la Chapelle des Ourſins for this man, becauſe they doubted that de la Chapelle ſhould not be grateful to them, being a papiſt. Sir, to ſpeak more plainly to you, than I will do otherwiſe, me thinketh the earl of Mur-

ray will run the courſe that thoſe men do, and be partaker of their fortune. I hear no man ſpeak more bitterly againſt the tragedy, and the players therein, than he, ſo little like he hath to horrible ſins. I hear an inkling that Ledington is to go into France, which I do as much miſlike, as any thing, for our purpoſe. I can aſſure you the whole proteſtants of France will live and die in theſe men's quarrels; and, where there is bruit amongſt you, that aid ſhould be ſent to the adverſe party, and that Martigues ſhould come hither with ſome force; Monſ. Boudelot hath aſſured me of his honour, that inſtead of Martigues coming againſt them, he will come with as good a force to ſuccour them: and if that be ſent under meaner conduct, Robert Stuart ſhall come with as many to fortify them. But the conſtable hath aſſured theſe lords, that the king meaneth no way to offend them. Sir, I pray find my revocation convenient, and ſpeed you to further it, for I am here now to no purpoſe, unleſs it be to kindle theſe lords more againſt us. Thus I do humbly take my leave of you, from Edinburgh the 12th of Auguſt 1567.

Yours to uſe and command.

The queen to Nicolas Throkmorton.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. We have, within theſe two days, received three ſundry letters of yours, of the 20th, 22d, and 23, of this month, having not before thoſe received any ſeven days before; and do find, by theſe your letters, that you have very diligently and largely advertiſed us of all the haſty and peremptory proceedings there; which as we nothing like, ſo we truſt in time to ſee them wax colder, and to receive ſome reformation. For we cannot perceive, that they with whom they have dealt can anſwer the doubts moved by the Hamiltons, who howſoever they may be carried for their private reſpects, yet thoſe things which they move, will be allowed by all reaſonable perſons. For if they may not, being noblemen of the realm, be ſuffered to hear the queen their ſovereign declare her mind concerning the reports which are made by her,

by such as keep her in captivity, how should they believe the reports, or obey them, which do report it? and therefore our meaning is, you shall let the Hamiltons plainly understand, that we do well allow of their proceedings, (as far forth as the same doth concern the queen their sovereign for her relief,) and in such things as shall appear reasonable for us therein to do, for the queen our sister, we will be ready to perform the same. And where it is so required, that upon your coming thence, the lord Scroope should deal with the lord Herris to impart their meanings to us, and ours to them, we are well pleased therewith, and we require you to advertize the lord Scroope hereof by your letters, and to will him to shew himself favourable to them in their actions, that may appear plainly to tend to the relief of the queen, and maintenance of her authority. And as we have willed our secretary to write unto you, that upon your message done to the earl of Murray, you might return, so our meaning is you shall. And if these our letters shall meet you on the way, yet we will have you advertise both the lord Scroope and the Hamiltons of our meaning.

Indorsed 29 Aug. 1567.

No. XXIII. (p. 7, vol. 2.)

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the archbishop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Arbrothe.

(13th Aug. 1567. Paper office, from a copy which Sir Nicholas sent to the queen.)

AFTER my good commendations to your good lordships this shall be to advertize you, that the queen's majesty my sovereign, having sent me hither her ambassador to the queen her sister your sovereign, to communicate unto her such matter as she thought meet, considering the good amity and ntelligence betwixt them, who being detained in captivity (as your lordships know) contrary to the duty of all good subjects, for the enlargement of whose person, and the restitution of her to her dignity, her majesty gave me in charge to treat with these lords assembled at Edenburgh, offering them all reasonable conditions and means as might be, for the

ſafeguard of the young prince, the puniſhment of the late horrible murder, the diſſolution of the marriage betwixt the queen and the earl of Bodwell, and laſtly for their own ſureties. In the negotiation of which matters I have (as your lordſhips well know) ſpent a long time to no purpoſe, not being able to prevail in any thing with thoſe lords, to the queen my ſovereign's ſatisfaction. Of which ſtrange proceedings towards her majeſty, and undutiful behaviour towards their ſovereign, I have advertiſed the queen's majeſty, ſhe (not being minded to bear this indignity) hath given me in charge to declare her further pleaſure unto them, in ſuch ſort as they may well perceive her majeſty doth diſallow of their proceedings, and thereupon hath revoked me. And further hath given me in charge to communicate the ſame unto your lordſhips, requiring you to let me know, before my departure hence (which ſhall be, God willing, as ſoon as I have received anſwer from you) what you and your confederates will aſſuredly do, to ſet the queen your ſovereign at liberty, and to reſtore her to her former dignity by force or otherwiſe; ſeeing theſe lords have refuſed all other mediation, to the end the queen's majeſty my ſovereign may concur with your lordſhips in this honourable enterprize.

And in caſe, through the diſperſion of your aſſociates, your lordſhips can neither communicate this matter amongſt you, nor receive reſolution of them all by that time, it may pleaſe you to ſend me the opinions of ſo many of you as may confer together, within two or three days, ſo as I may have your anſwer here in this town by Monday or Tueſday next at the fartheſt, being the 19th of this Auguſt; for I intend (God willing) to depart towards England, upon Wedneſday following. Thus I moſt humbly take my leave of your lordſhips at Edenburgh, the 13th of Aug. 1567.

Indorſed the 13th Aug. 1567.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the lord Herrys.

(24th Aug. 1567, Paper-office, from a copy which ſir Nicholas ſent to ſecretary Cecil.)

YOUR good lordſhip's letter of the 13th of Auguſt I have received the 19th of the ſame. For anſwer

whereunto it may like your lordſhip to underſtand, that I will ſignifie unto you plainly, how far forth I am already thoroughly inſtructed of the queen's majeſty my ſovereign's pleaſure concerning the detention of the queen your ſovereign, and concerning her relief.

To the firſt her majeſty hath given in charge, to uſe all kinds of perſuaſion in her name, to move theſe lords aſſembled at Edenburgh to deſiſt from this violent and undutiful behaviour, which they uſed toward their ſovereign. And in this part, beſides the ſhew of many reaſons, and ſundry perſuaſions of amicable treaty with them, her majeſty hath willed me to uſe ſome plain and ſevere ſpeech unto them, tending ſo far forth, as if they would not be better adviſed, and reform theſe their outrageous proceedings exerciſed againſt their ſovereign, that then they might be aſſured her majeſty neither would nor could indure ſuch an indignity to be done to the queen, her good couſin and neighbour.

And notwithſtanding theſe my proceedings with them, they have made proof to be little moved thereby; for as yet neither will they conſent to the enlargement, neither ſuffer me to ſpeak with her. So as it ſeemeth to me, it is ſuperfluous to treat any more with them after this manner. Whereupon I have advertiſed the queen's majeſty my ſovereign, expecting daily her majeſty's further order; and as I ſhall be advertiſed thereof, ſo will not fail to ſignifiy the ſame to your good lordſhip; and in the mean time will advertiſe her majeſty alſo, what your lordſhip hath written unto me. Thus with my due commendations to your good lordſhip, I commit the ſame to almighty God, reſting always to do you the pleaſure and ſervice that I can lawfully. At Edenburgh.

Indorſed 24th Auguſt, 1567

No XXIV. (p 15, vol. 2.)

Account of lord Herreis's behaviour in the parliament held December 15, 1567. (Paper office.)

THE lord Herrys made a notable harangue in the name of the duke and himſelf, their friends and adherents (the duke himſelf, the earl of Caſilles, and the abbot of Kilwinning being alſo preſent) to perſuade the

union of the whole realm in one mind. Wherein he did not ſpare to ſet forth ſolemnly the great praiſe that part of this nobility did deſerve, which in the beginning took meanes for puniſhment of the earl of Bothwell, as alſo ſeeing the queen's inordinat affection to that wicked man, and that ſhe could not be induced by their perſuaſion to leave him, that in ſequeſtring her perſon within Lochlevin, they did the duty of noblemen. That their honourable doings, which had not ſpared to hazard their lives and lands, to avenge their native country from the ſlanderous reports that were ſpoken of it among other nations, had well deſerved that all their brethren ſhould join with them in ſo good a cauſe. That he and they, in whoſe names he did ſpeak, would willingly, and without any compulſion, enter themſelves in the ſame yoke, and put their lives and lands in the like hazard, for maintenance of our cauſe. And if the queen herſelf were in Scotland, accompanied with 20,000 men, they will be of the ſame mind, and fight in our quarrel. He hoped the remainder noblemen of their party, Huntly, Arguile, and others, which had not as yet acknowledged the king, would come to the ſame conformity, whereunto he would alſo earneſtly move them. And if they will remain obſtinate, and refuſe to qualify themſelves, then will the duke, he and their friends, join with us to correct them, that otherwiſe will not reform themſelves. So plauſible an oration, and more advantageous for our party, none of ourſelves could have made. He did not forget to term my lord regent, by the name of regent, (there was no mention at all of the earl of Murray) and to call him grace at every word, when his ſpeeches were directed to him, accompanying all his words with low courteſies after this manner.

No. XXV. (p. 31. vol. 2.)

Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

[Cott. Lib Cal. i. A copy, and probably a tranſlation.]

MADAM,

ALTHOUGH the neceſſity of my cauſe (which maketh me to be importune to you) do make you to

judge that I am out of the way; yet ſuch as have not my paſſion, nor the reſpects whereof you are perſuaded, will think that I do as my cauſe doth require. Madam, I have not accuſed you, neither in words nor in thought, to have uſed yourſelf evil towards me. And I believe, that you have no want of good underſtanding, to keep you from perſwaſion againſt your natural good inclination. But in the mean I can't chuſe (having my ſenſes) but perceive very evil furtherance in many matters, ſince my coming hither. I thought that I had ſufficiently diſcourſed unto you the diſcommodities, which this delay bringeth unto me. And eſpecially that they think in this next month of Auguſt, to hold a parliament againſt me and all my ſervants. And in the mean time, I am ſtayed here, and yet will you, that I ſhould put myſelf further into your country (without ſeeing you), and remove me further from mine; and there do me this diſhonour at the requeſt of my rebels, as to ſend commiſſioners to hear them againſt me, as you wold do to a mere ſubject, and not hear me by mouth. Now, madam, I have promiſed you to come to you, and having there made my moan and complaint of theſe rebels, and they coming thither, not as poſſeſſors, but as ſubjects, to anſwer. I would have beſought you to hear my juſtification of that which they have falſly ſet furth againſt me, and if I could not purge myſelf thereof, you might then diſcharge your hands of my cauſes, and let me go for ſuch as I am. But to do as you ſay, if I were culpable I would be better adviſed; but being not ſo, I can't accept this diſhonour at their hands, that being in poſſeſſion they will come and accuſe me before your commiſſioners, whereof I can't like: And ſeeing you think it to be againſt your honour and conſignage to do otherwiſe, I beſeech you that you will not be mine enemy, untill you may ſee how I can diſcharge myſelf every way, and to ſuffer me to go into France, where I have a dowry to maintain me; or at leaſt to go into Scotland, with aſſurance that if there come any ſtrangers thither, I will bind myſelf for their return without any prejudice to you, or if it pleis you not to do thus, I proteſt that I will not impute

it to falſhood, if I receive ſtrangers in my country, without making you any other diſcharge for it. Do with my body as you will, the honour or blame ſhall be yours. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful ſervants may be ſuccoured (tho' you would not ſo) by ſtrangers, than to ſuffer them to be utterly undone, upon hope to receive, in time to come, particular commodity. There be many things to move me to fear that I ſhall have to do, in this country, with others than with you. But foraſmuch as nothing hath followed upon my laſt moan, I hold my peace happen what may hap. I have as leef to { abide / endure } my fortune, as to ſeek it, and not find it. Further, it pleaſed you to give licenſe to my ſubjects to go and come. This has been refuſed by my lord Scroop and Mr. Knolls (as they ſay) by your commandment, becauſe I would not depart hence to your charge, untill I had anſwer of this letter, tho' I ſhewed them that you required my anſwer, upon the two points, contained in your letter.

The one is to let you briefly underſtand, I am come to you to make my moan to you, the which being heard, I would declare unto you mine innocency, and then require your aid; and for lack thereof, I can't but make my moan and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my juſt quarrel, and to appeal to other princes to have reſpect thereunto, as my caſe requireth; and to you, madam, firſt of all, when you ſhall have examined your conſcience before him, and have him for witneſs.—— And the other, which is to come further into your country, and not to come to your preſence, I will eſteem that as no favour, but will take it for the contrary, obeying it as a thing forced. In mean time, I beſeech you, to return to me my lord Herries, for I can't be without him, having none of my counſal here, and alſo to ſuffer me, if it pleaſe you, without further delay, to depart hence whitherſoever it be out of this country. I am ſure you will not deny me this ſimple requeſt for your honour's ſake, ſeeing it doth not pleaſe you to uſe your natural goodneſs towards me otherwiſe, and ſeeing that of mine own accord, I am come

thither, let me depart again with yours. And if God permit my cauſes to ſucceed well, I ſhall be bound to you for it; and happening otherwiſe, yet I can't blame you. As for my lord Fleeming, ſeeing that upon my credit you have ſuffered him to go home to his houſe, I warrant you he ſhall paſs no further, but ſhall return when it ſhall pleaſe you. In that you truſt me, I will not (to die for it) deceive you. But *from** Dumbarton I anſwer not, when my l. Fleeming ſhall be in the Tower. For they which are within it will not forbear to receive ſuccour, if I don't aſſure them of yours; no, tho' you would charge me withall, for I have left them in charge, to have more reſpect to my ſervants and to my eſtate, than to my life. Good ſiſter, be of another mind, win the heart, and all ſhall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to ſatisfy you wholly, if I might have ſeen you. Alas! do not as the ſerpent, that ſtoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your ſiſter, and natural couſin. If Cæſar had not diſdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiſer, he had not ſo died; why ſhould princes ears be ſtopped, ſeeing that they are painted ſo long? meaning that they ſhould hear all and be well adviſed, before they anſwer. I am not of the nature of the baſiliſk, and leſs of the chamelion, to turn you to my likeneſs, and tho' I ſhould be ſo dangerous and curs'd as men ſay, you are ſufficiently arm'd with conſtancy and with juſtice, which I require of God, who give you grace to uſe it well with long and happy life. From Carliſle, the 5th of July, 1563.

No. XXVI. (p. 32. vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, 8th Aug. 1568, from Bolton.

(An original. Paper-office.)

—BUT ſurely this queen doth ſeem, outwardly, not only to favour the form, but alſo the chief article of the religion of the goſpel, namely juſtification by faith only: and ſhe heareth the faults of papiſtry revealed, by preaching or otherwiſe, with contented ears,

* Perhaps *for*

and with gentle and weak replys, and ſhe doth not ſeem to like the worſe of religion throw me.

Part of a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, 21 Sept. 1568, from Bolton.

—IT came to this queen's ears of late that ſhe was bruited to be lately turned to the religion of the goſpell, to the great diſliking of the papiſts hereabouts, which thing ſhe herſelf confeſſed unto me, and yeſterday, openly in the great chamber, when the aſſembly was full, and ſome papiſts preſent, ſhe took occaſion to ſpeak of religion, and then openly ſhe profeſſed herſelf to be of the papiſt religion, and took upon her to patronize the ſame, more earneſtly than ſhe had done a great while afore, altho' her defences and arguments were ſo weak, that the effect of her ſpeech was only to ſhew her zeal; and afterwards to me alone, when I miſliked to ſee her become ſo confidently backward in religion, Why, ſaid ſhe, would you have me to loſe France and Spain, and all my friends in other places, by ſeeming to change my religion, and yet I am not aſſured the queen my good ſiſter will be my aſſured friend, to the ſatisfaction of my honour and expectation.

No. XXVII. (p. 32. vol. 2.)

A letter from my lord Herries to my lord Scroop and Sir F. Knollys, September 3d. 1568.

[Cott. Lib. Cal. C. An original in his own hand.]

MY lords, pleaſit your honourable lordſhips, I am informed by James Borthwick, lately come from the queen's majeſty, your ſoverane, that is ſchawin to her highneſs, I ſhuld have ridden in Crafurdmure, ſen my laſt coming into this realm, upon the earl of Murray's dependants And that I ſuld have cauſit, or been of counſall to Scottiſmen to have ridden in Ingland, to ſlay or ſpulzie her majeſty's ſubjects.

My lords, I thought it right needful becauſe your lordſhips is, by your ſoverane, commanded to attend upon the queen's majeſty my miſtreſs, ſo having daily acceſs in thir matters, to declare upon the truth; humbly deſiring that your lordſhips will, for God's cauſe certificate the queen your ſoverane the ſame.

As God lives, I have neither conſented, nor any wiſe

had knowledge of any Scottiſman's riding in England, to do the ſubjects thereof hurt in bodies or goods, ſene the ſiege of Leith; and as I underſtand it ſhall be fund true, that giff ony ſic open hurt be done, it is by the queen my ſovereign's diſobients, and that I have not ridden nor hurt no Scottiſman, nor commanded no hurt to be done to them, ſen my coming from the queen's majeſty of England, it is will kend, for that never ane will complain of me.

I have done more good to Crawfurdmure nor ever the earl of Murray has done, and will be loather to do them any harm than he will. Except the queen's majeſty your ſovereign, command ſic falſe reports to be tryit, quhereof this altogidder an inventit leaſing, her grace ſall be trublit, and tyne the hearts of true men here, quhom of ſic report ſall be made, that baith would ſerve hir, and may, better than they unworthy liars.

My lords, I underſtand the queen's majeſty your ſovereign is no contented of this bruite, that there ſhould ony Frenchman come in this realm, with the duke of Chattelherault. Truth it is, I am no manner of way the counſall of their cuming, nor has no ſic certainty thereof, as I hear by Borthwick's report from the queen's majeſty your ſovereign. And giff I might as well ſay it, as it is true indeed, her grace's ſelf is all the wyitt, and the counſal that will never let her take order with my maiſtreſs cauſe. For that our ſovereign havand her majeſty's promiſe, be writing, of luff, friendſhip, and aſſiſtance giff need had ſo requirit, enterit that realm, upon the 16th day of May, ſen that time the queen's majeſty has commanded me divers times to declare ſhe would accept her cauſe, and do for her, and to put her in peaceable poſſeſſion of this realme, and when I required of her majeſty, in my miſtreſs name, that her highneſs would either do for her (as her ſpecial truſt was ſhe wold) according to her former promiſes, or otherwiſe give her counſall, would not conſent (as I ſhew her grace I faund diverſe repugnant) than that ſhe would permit her to paſs in France, or to ſome other prince to ſeek ſupport, or failing hereof (quhilk was agains all reaſon) that ſhe would permit her to return in

her awin country, in ſic ſempil manner as ſhe came out of it, and ſaid to her majeſty ane of thir, for her honour would not be refuſit, ſeeand that ſhe was come in her realm upon her writings and promiſes of friendſhip. And ſicklike, I ſaid to her highneſs, giff my maiſtreſs had the like promiſe of her nobility and eſtates, as ſhe had of herſelf, I ſhould have reprovit them highly, gif they had not condeſcendit to one of thir three, and ſo I ſay, and ſo I write, that in the warld it ſhould be maiſt reprehendable, giff this promiſe taketh not other good effect, nor yet it does. Notwithſtanding I get gud anſwir of thir promiſes of friendſhip made to my ſovereign, and to put her grace in this her awn countrie peaceably, we have fund the contrary working by Mr. Middlemore, directit from her highneſs to ſtay the army that cuiſt down our houſes. And alſua, in the proceeding of this late pretendit parliament, promiſed twenty days before the time to myſelf to have cauſe it been diſchargit. And yet contrary to this promiſe, have made their pretendit manner of forfaulture of 31 men of guid reputation, biſhops, abbottis, and barroni, obedient ſubjects to our ſovereign, only for her cauſe.

They have alſo diſponit, ſen our ſovereign's cauſe was taken upon hand be the queen's majeſty of that realm, an hundred thouſand pound Scots worth of her awin true ſubjects geir, under the color of the law, groundit upon their falſe treaſonable ſtowin, authority.

The murders, the oppreſſions, the burnings, the raviſhing of women, the deſtruction of policy, both eccleſiaſtical and temporal, in this mean time, as in my former writings I ſaid it was lamentable to ony Chriſtian man to hear of, except God giff grace, the profeſſion of the evangile of Jeſus Chriſt profeſſit be your prince, counſall and realme, be mair myndit, nor the auld inamity that has ſtand betwixt the realms, many of my countrymen will doubt in this article, and their proceedings puttis myſelf in Sanct Thomas belief.

Now, my lords, gif the queen's majeſty of that realm, upon quhais promiſe and honour my maiſtreſs came there, as I have ſaid, will leave all the French writings and French phraſes of writings, quhilks amongis thein

is over meikle on baith ſides unfit, and plainly, according to the auld true cuſtom of Ingland and Scotland, quherein be a word promiſt truth was obſerv'd, promiſe, in the name of the eternal God, and upon the high honour of that nobill and princely blude of the kings of Ingland, quhereof ſhe is deſcendit, and preſently wears the diadem, that ſhe will put my maiſtreſs in her awin country, and cauſe her as queen thereof in her authority and ſtrength to be obeyit, and to do the ſame will appoint an certain day within two months at the fartheſt, as we underſtand this to be our weill, ſua will we, or the maiſt part of us all, follow upon it leaving the Frenchmen and their evil French phraſes togidder. And therefore, and for the true perpetual friendſhip of that realm, will condition, and for our part, with the grace of Almighty God, keep ſic heads and conditions of agreement, as noble and wiſe men can condeſcend upon, for the weill of this haill iſland. As I have been partlings declaring to the queen your ſovereign, quhilk I ſhew to your lordſhips ſelfis both in religion, in the punishment of the earle Bothwile, for the queen's laſt husband's ſlaughter, and for a mutual band of amity perpetually to remain amangis us.

Doubtleſs, my lords, without that, we may find ſic time and friendly working, as may gif us occaſion baith to forgette Middlemore and his late pretendit parliament, we will turn the leaf, leaving our ſovereign againis our will to reſt where ſhe is, under the promiſe of friendſhip. As I have baith ſaid, and will ever affirm, made by your ſovereign, quhilk was only cauſe of her grace's coming in that realme, and ſeek the help and moyen of French or Spaniſh, till expulſe this treaſonable and falſe pretendit authority, quhilk means to reign above us.

My lords, I deſire your lordſhips conſider, that it is he, that maiſt deſires the amity betwixt Ingland and Scotland to continue, and of a poor man beſt cauſe has, that writ this.

My brother the laird of Skirling, ſchaws me, that in your lordſhips communing with him, it appearit to him, your mind was we ſhould ſuffer the earl of Murray to work, altho' it were againis reaſon to us and complain

thereof to the queen's majeſty, and her highneſs wald ſee it reformit. My lords, her majeſty will be over meikle troublit to reform the wranges we have ſuffaint already. For I am ſure, gif reaſon and juſtice may have place, our maiſtreſs, and we her ſubjects, have received expreſs wrang, for above two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, in the time of this unhappy government, ſeeing the reformation of ſa great cauſes, comes, now a days, ſo ſlowlie and the ungodly law of oblivion in ſic matters ſo meikle practis'd I think, nowther for the queen's honour, nor our weill, your lordſhips would ſua mean, nor that it is good to us to follow it. And that ye will give your ſovereign ſic advertiſement thereof, as your good wiſdoms ſhall find in this cauſe meet. It will be true and frindful working for us, indeed, and nowther French phraſes, nor boaſting, and finding little other effect, that will cauſe us to hold away the Frenchmen. This is plainly written, and I deſire your lordſhip's plain anſwer, for in truth and plainneſs langeſt continues gud friendſhip, quhilk in this matter I pray God may lang continue, and have your lordſhips in his keeping. Off Dumfries, the third day of September 1568.

Your lordſhips at my power
to command leifully HERRIS.

Queen Mary to Q. Elizabeth.

[1568. Cott. Lib. Cal. 1. An original.]

MADAME, ma bonne ſoeur. J'ay reſceu de vos lettres, d'une meſme dete; l'une, ou vous faites mention de l'excuſe de Monſr. de Murra pour tenir ſon pretendu parlement, qui me ſemble bien froid, pour obtenir plus de tollerance que je m'eſtois perſuadee n' avoir par voſtre promeſſe, quant a n'oſer donner commiſſion de venir ſans un parlement pour leur peu de nombre de nobleſſe alors, je vous reſpons, qu'ils n'ont que trois ou quatre d'avantage, qui euſſent auſſi bien dit leur opinion hors de parlement, qui n'a eſte tenu tant pour cette effect, mais pour faire ce qu'expreſſement nous avions requis eſtre empeſches, qui eſt la forfaiture de mes ſubjects pour m'avoir eſtes fidelles, ce que je m'aſſurois, juſques a hier,

avoir en en promeſſe de vous, par la lettre ecrite a mi lord Scrup e Maiſtre Knoleis vous inquire a ire contre eulx, voire, a les enſayre reſentir, toutefois je vois que je l'ay mal pris, j'en ſuis plus marrie, pour ce que ſur votre lettre qu'il me montrerent, et leur parole, je l'ay ſi divulguement aſſuray que pour vengeance que j'en deſiraſſe, ſi non mettre diſference entre leur faux deportemens, et les miens ſinceres. Dans voſtre lettre auſſi datee du 10me d'Aouſt, vous metties ces mots, " I think " your adverſe party, upon my ſundry former advices, " will hold no parliament at all, and if they do, it ſhall " be only in form of an aſſembly, to accord whom to " ſend into this realm, and in what ſort; for otherwiſe, " if they ſhall proceed in manner of a parliament, with " any act of judgment againſt any perſon, I ſhall not, " in any wiſe, allow thereof; and if they ſhall be ſo o- " verſeen, then you may think the ſame to be of no o- " ther moment, than the former procedures; and by " ſuch their raſh manner of proceedings, they ſhall " moſt prejudice themſelves; and be aſſured to find me " ready to condemn them, in their doings." Sur quoy, j'ay contremande mes ſerviteurs, les faiſſant retirer, ſouffrant ſelon voſtre commandement d'etre fauſſement nommes traitres, par ceulx, qui le ſont de vray, et encore d'etre provoques par eſcarmons dies, et par prinſes de mes gens et lettres, et au contraire vous etes informee que mes ſubjects ont evahis les voſtres, Madame, qui a fait ce rapport n'eſt pas homme de bien, car laird de Seſford et ſon fils ſont et ont eſtes mes rebelles depuis le commencement; enquires vous, s'ils n'eſtoient a Donfris aveques eulx, j'avois offri reſpondre de ſa frontiere, ce qui me fut refuſe, ce qui m'en devroit aſſes deſcharger, neanmoins, pour vous faire preuve de ma fidelite, et de leur falſite, s'il vous me fayte donner le nom des coulpables, et me fortifier, je commanderay mes ſubjects les pourſuivre, ou ſi vous voules que ce ſoit les voſtres, les miens leur ayderont; je vous prie m'en mander voſtre volonte, au reſte mes ſubjects fidelles ſeront reſponſables a tout ce que leur ſera mis ſu les contre vous, ni les voſtres, ni les rebelles, deſpuis que me conſeillates les faire retirer. Quant aux Francois, j'eſcrivis que l'on m'en fit nulle pourſuite, car

j'eſperois tant en vous, que je n'en aurois beſoign,—je ne ſçeu ſi le dict aura en mes lettres, mais je vous jure devant Dieu que je ne ſcay choſe du monde de leur venue, que ce que m'en aves manday, ni n'en ai oui de France mot du monde, et ne le puis croire pour ceſt occaſion, et ſi ils ſi ſont, c'eſt ſans, mon ſceu ni conſentement, Pourquoy je vous ſupplie ne me condamner ſans m'ouire, car je ſuis preſt de tenir tout ce que j'ay offert a Meſſer Knoleis, et vous aſſure que voſtre amite, qu'il vous pleſt m'offrir, ſera reſceue avant toutes les choſes du monde, quant France ſervit la pour preſſer leur retour a ceſte condition, que prenies mes affaires en mein, en ſoeur, et bonne ami, comme ma France, eſt en vous; mais une choſe ſeule me rende confuſe, j'ay tant d'enemis qu'ont votre oreille, la quelle ne pouvant avoir par parolle, toutes mes actions vous ſont deſguiſees, et faſſement raportees, par quoi il m'eſt impoſſible de m'aſſurer de vous, pour les manteries qu'on vous a fait, pour deſtruire voſtre bonne volonte de moy; par quoy je deſirerois bien avoir ce bien vous faire entendre ma ſincere et bonne affection, laquelle je ne puis ſi bien deſcrire, que mes enemis a tort ne la decolore. Ma bonne ſoeur, gagnes moy; envoyes moy querir, n'entres en jalouſie pour faulx raports de celle que ne deſire que votre bonne grace; je me remettray ſur Meſſer Knolleis a qui je me ſuis librement deſcouverte, et apres vous avoir baiſee les mains, je prierai Dieu vous donner et ſante, longue et heureuſe vie. De Boton, ou je vous promets je n'eſpere pertir, qu'aveques voſtre bonne grace, quoyque les menteurs mentent. Ce 26 d'Aouſt.

No. XXVIII. (p. 33, vol. 2.)

Queen Elizabeth to the earl of Murray.

(Paper-office, from a copy corrected by ſecretary Cecil.)

RIGHT truſty and right well beloved couſin, we greet you well, where we hear ſay, that certain reports are made in ſundry parts of Scotland, that whatſoever ſhould fall out now upon the hearing of the queen of Scotts cauſe, in any proof to convince or to acquit the ſaid queen concerning the horrible murder of her late huſband our couſin, we have determined to reſtore her

to her kingdom and government, we do so much dislike hereof, as we cannot indure the same to receive any credit; and therefore we have thought good to assure you, that the same is untruly devised by the authors to our dishonour. For as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by her letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder, which we wish to be true, so sure if she should be found justly to be guilty thereof as hath been reported of her, whereof we would be very sorry, then, indeed, it should behove us to consider otherwise of her cause than to satisfy her desire in restitution of her to the government of that kingdom. And so we would have you and all others think, that should be disposed to conceive honourably of us and our actions.

Indorsed 20. Sept. 1568.

No. XXIX. (p. 38. vol. 2.)

Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, the 9th of October 1568, from York.

(An original. Paper Office.)

—My lord's grace of Norfolk sending for me to Bolton, to attend upon him here Thursday last, I made my repair hither accordingly, meaning to stay here until Monday next; as touching the matters of the commission, that his grace and the rest have from her highness, his grace hath imparted unto me of all things thereunto appertaining, and what hath hitherto passed, and altho' the matters be too weighty for my weak capacity, to presume to utter any opinion of mine own thereof, yet I see that my lord Herries, for his parte laboureth a reconciliation, to be had without the extremity of odious accusations; my lord of Ledington also saith to me, that he could wish these matters to be ended in dulce manner, so that it might be done with safety; of the rest you can conceive, by the advertisements and writings, sent up by our commissioners.

A letter from the bishop of Ross to the queen of Scots, from York, October 1568.

(Cot. Lib. Calig. C. 1. A copy.)

Pleis your majesty I conferred at length with A. ane great part of a night, who assured me that he had

reaſoned with B this Saturday C. on the field, who determinate to him that it was the D. determinate purpoſe not to end your cauſe at this time, but to hold the ſame in ſuſpence, and did what was in her power, to make the E. purſue the extremity to the effect F. and his adherents might utter all they could to your diſhonour, to the effect to cauſe you come in diſdain with the hail ſubjects of this realm, that ye may be the mair unable to attempt any thing to her diſadvantage. And to this effect is all her intention, and when they have produced all they can againſt you, D. will not appoint the matter inſtantly, but tranſport you up in the country, and retain you there till ſhe think time to ſhew you favour, which is not likely to be haſtily, becauſe of your uncles in France, and the fear ſhe has of yourſelf to be her unfriend. And therefore their counſel is, that ye write an writing to the D. meaning that ye are informit that your ſubjects which has offendit you. This is in effect that your majeſty hearing the eſtate of your affairs as they proceed in York, was informed that her majeſty was informed of you, that you could not gudely remit your ſubjects in ſuch ſort as they might credit you hereafter, which was a great cauſe of the ſtay of this controverſy to be ended. And therefore perſuading her D. effectually not to truſt any who had made any ſuch narration. But like as ye had rendered you in her hands, as moſt tender to you of any living, ſo prayit her take na opinion of you, but that ye wauld uſe her counſell in all your affairs, and wald prefer her friendſhip to all others, as well uncles as others, and aſſure her to keep that thing ye wald premiſe to your ſubjects by her advice. And if D. diſcredits you, ye would be glad to ſatisfy her in that point be removing within her realm in ſecret and quiet manner, where her G. pleaſed, until the time her G. were fully ſatisfied, and all occaſion of diſcredit removed from her. So that in the mean time your realm were holden in quietneſs, and your true ſubjects reſtored and maintained in their own eſtate, and ſic other things tending to this effect. And affirms that they believe that this may be occaſion to cauſe her credit you that ye of-

fer ſo far; and it may come that within two or three months ſhe may become better minded to your grace, for now ſhe is not well-minded, and will not ſhew you any pleaſure for the cauſes aforeſaid.

N. B. The title of this paper is in Cecil's hand; the following key is added in another hand.

A. The laird of Lethington.
B. The duke of Norfolk.
C. Was the day he rode to Cawood.
D. The queen of England.
E. The queen of Scots commiſſioners.
F. The earl of Murray.

No. XXX. (p. 46. vol. 2.)

Deliberation of ſecretary Cecil's concerning Scotland, Dec. 21. 1568.

[Paper Office.]

THE beſt way for England, but not the eaſieſt, that the queen of Scots might remain deprived of her crown, and the ſtate continue as it is.

The ſecond way for England profitable, and not ſo hard.—That the queen of Scotts might be induced, by ſome perſwaſions, to agree that her ſon might continue king, becauſe he is crowned, and herſelf to remain alſo queen; and that the government of the realm might be committed to ſuch perſons as the queen of England ſhould name, ſo as for the nomination of them it might be ordered, that a convenient number of perſons of Scotland ſhould be firſt named to the queen of England, indifferently for the queen of Scots, and for her ſon, that is to ſay, the one half by the queen of Scots, and the other by the earl of Lennox and lady Lennox, parents to the child; and out of thoſe, the queen's majeſty of England to make choice for all the officers of the realm that are, by the laws of Scotland, diſpoſable by the king or queen of the land.

That until this may be done by the queen's majeſty, the government remain in the hands of the earle of Murray as it is, providing he ſhall not diſpoſe of any offices of perpetuals to continue any longer but to thete offices or the premiſes.

That a parliament be ſummoned in Scotland by ſeveral commandments, both of the queen of Scots and of the young king.

—That hoſtages be delivered unto England on the young king's behalf, to the number of twelve perſons of the earle of Murray's part as the queen of Scots ſhall name; and likewiſe on the queen's behalf to the like number as the earle of Murray ſhall name; the ſame not to be any that have by inheritance or office cauſe to be in this parliament, to remain from the beginning of the ſummons of that parliament, until three months after that parliament; which hoſtages ſhall be pledges, that the friends of either part ſhall kept the peace in all caſes, till by this parliament it be concluded, that the ordinance which the queen of England ſhall deviſe for the government of the realm (being not to the hurt of the crown of Scotland, nor contrary to the laws of Scotland for any man's inheritance, as the ſame was before the parliament at Edin^r the Decem^r 1567) ſhall be eſtabliſhed to be kept and obeyed, under pain of high treaſon for the breakers thereof.

——That by the ſame parliament alſo be eſtabliſhed all executions and judgments given againſt any perſon for the death of the late king.

——That by the ſame parliament, a remiſſion be made univerſally from the queen of Scots to any her contrarys, and alſo from every one ſubject to another, ſaving that reſtitution be made of lands and houſes, and all other things heritable, that have been by either ſide taken from them which were the owner's thereof at the committing of the queen of Scots to Lochlevin.

That by the ſame parliament it be declared who ſhall be ſucceſſors to the crown next after the q. of Scots and her iſſue: or elſe, that ſuch right of the d. of Chatelherault had, at the marriage of the q. of Scots with the lord Darnley, may be conſerved and not prejudiced.

That the q. of Scots may have leave of the queen's majeſty of England, twelve months after the ſaid parliament, and that ſhe ſhall not depart out of England without ſpecial licence of the queen's majeſty.

That the young king ſhall be nouriſhed and brought

up in England, till he be years of age.

It is to be considered, that in this cause the composition between the queen and her subjects may be made with certain articles, outwardly to be seen to the world for her honour, as though all the parts should come of her, and yet for the surety of contrarys, that certain betwixt her and the queen's majesty are to be concluded.

No. XXXI. (p. 48, vol. 2.)

The queen to Sir Francis Knolleys, 22 Jan. 1568-9.

(Paper office.)

WE greet you well, we mean not, at this point, by any writing, to renew that which it hath pleased God to make grievous to us and sorryful to yow; but forbearing the same as unmeet at this point, having occasion to command yow in our service, and yow also whilest you are to serve us. We require yow to consider of this that followeth with like consideration and diligence, as hitherto you have accustumate in our service; at the time of our last letters written to yow the fourteenth of this month for removing of the queen of Scots, we had understanding out of Scotland of certain writings sent by her from thence into Scotland, amongst the which one is found to contain great and manifest untruths touching us and others also, as shall and may plainly appear unto you by the copy of the same, which likewise we send yow, and because at the same time we were advertised, that it should be shortly proclaimed in Scotland, though then it was not, we thought good first to remove the queen, before we could disclose the same, and then expect the issue thereof; and now, this day, by letters from our cousin of Huntdon we are ascertained, that since that time the same matters contained in the writings, are published in diverse parts of Scotland, whereupon we have thought it very meet, for the discharge of our honour, and to confound the falsehood contained in that writing, not only to have the same reproved by open proclamation upon our frontiers, the copy whereof we do herewith send yow, but also in convenient sort to charge that queen therewith, so as she may be moved to declare the authors thereof, and per-

ſuaders of her, to write in ſuch ſlanderous ſort ſuch untruths of us; and in the mean ſeaſon, we have here ſtayed her commiſſioners, knowing no other whom we more probably preſume to be parties hereunto, than they, until the queen ſhall name ſome other, and acquit them; who being generally charged, without expreſſing to them any particularity, do uſe all manner of ſpeeches to diſcharge themſelves: wherefore our pleaſure is, that ye ſhall, after ye have well peruſed the copy of this writing ſent to yow, ſpeedily declare unto her, that we have good underſtanding given us of diverſe letters and writings ſent by her into Scotland, ſigned by her own hand, amongſt which one ſuch writing is ſent with her commandment expreſly as now it is already publiſhed, as we are much troubled in mind that a princeſs as ſhe is having a cauſe in our hands ſo implicated with difficultys and calamitys, ſhould either conceave in her own mind, or allow of them that ſhould deviſe ſuch falſe, untrue, and improbable matters againſt us, and our honor, and ſpecially to have the aventure to have the ſame being known ſo untrue to be publiſhed; and you ſhall alſo ſay, becauſe we will not think ſo ill of her, as that it ſhould proceed of her ſelf, but rather ſhe hath been counſelled thereunto, or by abuſe made to think ſome part thereof to be true, we require her, even as ſhe may look for ony favour at our hands, that ſhe will diſburden herſelf as much as truly ſhe may herein, and name them which have been the authors and perſwaders thereof, and ſo ſhe ſhall make as great amends to us as the caſe may require; after you have thus far proceeded, and ſome anſwer of her, whether ſhe ſhall deny the writing abſolutely, or name any that have been the adviſers thereof, you ſhall ſay unto her that we have ſtayed her commiſſioners here, until we may have ſome anſwer hereof, becauſe we cannot but impute to them ſome part of this evil dealing, until by her anſwer the authors may be known; and as ſoon as you can have direct anſwers from her, we pray you to return us the ſame; for as the caſe ſtandeth, we cannot but be much diſquieted with it, having our honour ſo deeply touched contrary to any intention in us, and for any thing we know in

our judgment the earl of Murray, and others named in the ſame writing void of thought for the matters, to them therein imputed; you may impart to the queen of Scots either the contents of the ſlanderous letter, or ſhew her the copy to read it, and you may alſo impart this matter to the lord Scroop, to join with you there as you ſhall think meet.

Sir Francis Knolleys to queen Elizabeth, from Wetherby, the 28th January 1568.

[An original. Paper office.]

——I WILL ſuppreſs my own griefs, and paſs them over with ſilence, for the preſent learning of your majeſty—and for this queen's anſwer to the coppie of her ſuppoſed letter ſent unto Scotland, I muſt add this unto my brother's letter, ſent unto Mr. Secretary yeſternight late; in proceſs of time ſhe did not deny but that the firſt lines contained in the ſaid coppie was agreeable to a letter, that ſhe had ſent unto Scotland, which touched my lord of Murray's promiſe to deliver her ſon into your majeſty's hands, and to avoid that the ſame ſhould not be done without her conſent, made her, ſhe ſaith, to write in that behalf; ſhe ſaith alſo that ſhe wrote that they ſhould cauſe a proclamation to be made to ſtir her people to defend my lord of Murray's intent and purpoſe, for delivering of her ſaid ſon, and impunge his rebellious government, as ſhe termed it, but ſhe utterly denyeth to have written any of the other ſlanderous part of the ſaid letter touching your majeſty; ſhe ſaid alſo, that ſhe ſuſpected that a Frenchman, now in Scotland, might be the author of ſome Scotch letters deviſed in her name, but ſhe would not allow me to write this for any part of her anſwer.

No. XXXII. (p. 54, vol. 2.)

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the right honourable the lord of Liddington.

[20th July 1569. From the original.]

YOUR letter of the third of July, I have received the 15th of the ſame. For anſwer whereunto you ſhall underſtand, that friends here to my lord regent and you

do wish such a concurrence in all doings, as in matter and circumstances there arise no dissension, or at the least, no more nor other than the difference of countries doth necessarily require. We here do think convenient that as few delays be used as may be, for the consummation of the matter in hand, which principally to advance, your allowance, prosecution, and speedy promotion in Scotland, is most requisite, for you are so wise, and well acquainted with the state of the world, and with all our humours, as you know that some do allow and disallow for reason, some for respect of multitude, some for respect of persons, and so the cause is to go forward as men do like to set it forward. You are not to seek that some will use cautions, some neutrality, some delays, and some will plainly impunge it. And yet all and every of these sorts will alter their doings, when they shall see the regent and his favourers accord with the best and greatest part there, and agree with the wisest and strongest part here. Tho' the matter has taken its beginning here upon deep and weighty considerations, for the weil of both the princes and their realms, as well presently, as in time to come, yet it is thought most expedient, that the regent and realm of Scotland, by you, should propose the matter to the queen our sovereign, if you like to use convenience, good order, or be disposed to leave but a scar, and no wound of the hurts past. I would be glad that this my letter should come to your hands before the convention, whereat it seems your queen's restoration and marriage to the duke of Norfolk should be propounded, either to wynne in them both allowance or rejection. To which proceedings, because you pray me to write frankly, I say and reason thus, me thinketh you use a preposterous order, to demand the consent of such persons, in such matters, as their minds to a good end hath rather been felt or prepared, and therefore there must needs follow either a universal refusal, or factious division amongst you, whereby a blousstering intelligence must needs come to queen Elizabeth of the intended marriage from thence, which ought to have been secretly and advisedly propounded unto her highness; hereby you see then the

meaning is, by this dealing, her majeſty ſhall be made inexorable, and ſo bring the matter to ſuch paſſe, as this which ſhould have wrought ſurety, quietneſs, and a ſtay to both queens and their realms, ſhall augment your calamity, and throw us your beſt friends into divorſe with you, and into unhappy diviſions amongſt ourſelves; for you may not conjecture that the matter is now in deliberation, but expecteth good occaſion for executing; ſure I am you do not judge ſo ſlenderly of the managing this matter, as to think we have not caſt the worſt, or to enter therein ſo far without the aſſiſtance of the nobility, the ableſt, the wiſeſt, and the mightieſt of this realm, except queen Elizabeth: from whom it hath been concealed until you, as the fitteſt miniſter, might propound it to her, on the behalf of the regent and the nobility of Scotland. How far maſter Woddes defamations do carry them of queen Elizabeth's affections, and maſter ſecretary's, to aſſiſt the regent, and to ſuppreſs the queen of Scots, I know not, nor is it not material; but I do aſſuredly think, that her majeſty will prefer her ſurety, the tranquility of her reign, and the conſervation of her people, before any device, which may proceed from vain diſcourſe, or imperfections of paſſions, and inconſiderate affections. And as for Mr. Secretary, you are not to learn, that as he liketh not to go too faſt afore, ſo he coveteth not to tarry too far behind, and ſpecially when the reliques be of no great value or power. If I could as well aſſure you of his magnanimity and conſtancy, as of his preſent conformity, I would ſay confidently, you may repoſe as well of him in this matter, as of the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, Bedford, Shrewſbury, and the reſt of the nobility; all which do embrace and proteſte the accompliſhment of this caſe. I have, according to your advice, written preſently to my lord regent, with the ſame zeal and care of his well doing that I owe to him, whom I love and honour. Mr. Secretary hath aſſured unto him the queen of Scotland's favour and good opinion, wherewith he ſeemeth to be well ſatisfy'd. If your credit be, as I truſt, haſten your coming hither, for it is very neceſſary that you were here preſently. Q. Elizabeth both doth

write to my lord regent in such sort, as he may perceive Mr. Wood's discourses of her majesty's affection to be vain, and Mr. Secretary otherwise bent than he conjecture th of him, the effect of which her majesty's letter you shall understand, by my lord Leicester's letter unto you at this dispatch. At the court, 20 July 1569.

No. XXXIII. (p. 55, vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from the earl of Murray to R. B. (probably lord Burleigh.)

(1569. Harl. Lib. 37. B. 9. fo. 43.)

—BECAUSE I see that great advantage is taken on small occasions, and that the mention of the marriage betwixt the queen my sovereign's mother, and the d. of Norfolk hath this while past been very frequent in both the realms, and then I myself to be spoken of as a motioner, which I perceive is at the last come to her majesty's ears; I will, for satisfaction of her highness, and the discharge of my duty towards her majesty, manifest unto you my interest, and medling in that matter, from the very beginning, knowing whatsoever is prejudicial to her highness, cannot but be hurtful to the king my sovereign, this his realm, and me. What conferences was betwixt the duke of Norfolk, and any of them that were with me within the realm of England, I am not able to declare; but I am no wise forgetful of any thing that passed betwixt him and me, either at that time, or since. And to the end her majesty may understand how I have been dealt with, in this matter, I am compelled to touch some circumstances, before there was any mention of her marriage. In York, at the meeting of all the commissioners, I found very—and neutral dealing with the duke, and other her highness's commissioners in the beginning of the cause, as in the making of the others to proceed sincerely, and so furth. During which time I entered into general speech, sticking at our just defence in the matters that were objected against us, by the said queen's commissioners, looking certainly for no other thing, but summary cognition in the cause of controversy, with a final declaration to have followed. Up-

on a certain day the lord Lithington ſecretary rode with the duke to Howard, what purpoſe they had I cannot ſay, but that night Lithington returning, and entering in conference with me upon the ſtate of our action, I was adviſed by him to paſs to the duke, and require familiar conference, by the which I might have ſome feeling to what iſſue our matters would tend. According to which advice, having gotten time and place convenient in the gallery of the houſe where the duke was lodged, after renewing of our firſt acquaintance made at Berwick, the time before the aſſize of Leith, and ſome ſpeeches paſſed betwixt us; he began to ſay to me, how he in England had favour and credit, and I in Scotland had will and friendſhip of many, it was to be thought there could be none more fit inſtruments, to travel for the continuance of the amity betwixt the realms than we two. And to that diſcourſe upon the preſent ſtate of both, and how I was entered in that action tending ſo far to the queen's diſhonour, I was willed by him to conſider how matters ſtood in this, what honour I had received of the queen, and what inconveniencies her defamation in the matters laid to her charge might breed to her poſterity. Her reſpect was not little to the crown of England, there was but one heir. The Hamiltons my unfriends had the next reſpect, and that I ſhould eſteem the iſſue of her body would be the more affectionate to me and mine, than any other that could attain to that crown. And ſo it ſhould be meeteſt, that ſhe affirmed her diſmiſſion made in Lochlevin, and we do abſtract the letters of her hand write, that ſhe ſhould not be defamed in England. My reply to that was, how the matter had paſſed in parliament, and the letters ſeen of many, ſo that the abſtracting of the ſame could not then ſecure her to any purpoſe, and yet ſhould we, in that doing, bring the ignominy upon us. Affirming it would not be fair for us that way to proceed, ſeeing the queen's majeſty of England was not made privy to the matter as ſhe ought to be, in reſpect we were purpoſely come to England for that end, and for the—of the grants of our cauſe. The duke's anſwer was, he would take in hand to handle matters well enough at the court. After this,

on the occaſion of certain articles, that were required to be reſolved on, before we entered on the declaration of the very ground of our action, we came up to the court; where ſome new commiſſioners were adjoined to the former, and the hearing of the matter ordained to be in the parliament houſe at Weſtminſter in preſence of which commiſſioners of the ſaid queen, and —— through the — rebuking of the queen of England's own commiſſioners, we uttered the whole of the action, and produced ſuch evidences, letters, and probations, as we had, which might move the queen's majeſty to think well of our cauſe. Whereupon expecting her highneſs declaration, and ſeeing no great likelihood of the ſame to be ſuddenly given, but daily motions then made to come to an accord with the ſaid queen, our matters in hand in Scotland, in the mean ſeaſon, ſtanding in hazard and danger, we were put to the uttermoſt point off our wit, to imagine whereunto the matters would tend, tho' albeit we had left nothing undone for juſtification of our cauſes, yet appeared no end, but continual motions made to come to ſome accord with the queen, and reſtore her to whole or half reign. I had no other anſwer to give them, but that I ſhould neither do againſt conſcience or honour in that matter. Notwithſtanding ſeeing this my plain anſwer wrought no end, nor diſpatch to us, and that I was informed that the duke began to diſlike of me, and to ſpeak of me, as that I had reported of the ſaid queen irreverently, calling her ——* and murderer, I was adviſed to paſs to him, and give him good words and to purge myſelf of the things objected to me, that I ſhould not open the ſudden entry of his evil grace, nor have him to our enemy——conſidering his greatneſs. It being therewithal whiſpered, and ſhewed to me, that if I departed, he ſtanding diſcontented and not ſatisfied, I might peradventure find ſuch trouble in my way, as my throat might be cut before I came to Berrick. And therefore ſince it might well enough appear to her marriage, I ſhould not put him in utter deſpair, that my

* Probably *adulterer*.

good will could not be had therein. So few days before my departing I came to the park in Hampton court, where the duke and I met together, and there I declared unto him that it was come to my ears, how some misreport should be made of me to him, as that I should speak irreverently and rashly of the said queen my sovereign's mother, such words as before expressed that he might ——† thereby my affection to be so alienate from her, as that I could not love her, nor be content of her preferment, howbeit he might perswade himself of the contrary, for as she once was the person in the world that I loved best, having that honour to be so near unto her, and having received such advancement and honour by her, I was not so ungrate or so unnatural ever to wish her body harm, or to speak of her as was untruly reported of me (howsoever the truth was in the self,) and as to the preservation of her son, now my sovereign, had moved me to enter into this cause, and that her own pressing was the occasion of that was uttered to her—‡ whensoever God should move her heart to repent of her bypast behaviour and life, and after her known repentance, that she should be separate from that ungodly and unlawful marriage that she was entered in, and then after were joined with such a godly and honourable a personage, as were affectioned to the true religion, and whom we might trust, I could find in my heart to love her, and to shew her as great pleasure, favour, and good will, as ever I did in my life; and in case he should be that personage, there was none whom I could better like of, the queen——in——of England being made privy to the matter, and she allowing thereof, which being done, I should labour in all things that I could, to her honour and pleasure, that were not prejudicial to the king my sovereign's estate, and prayed him not to think otherwise of me, for my affection was rather buried and hidden within me, awaiting until God should direct her to know herself, than utterly alienated and abstracted from her; which he seemed to accept in very good part, saying, earl of Murray thou thinks of me that

† Probably *suspect.* ‡ Probably *dishonour.*

thing, whereunto I will make none in England or Scotland privy, and thou haſt Norfolk's life in thy hands. So departing, I came to my lodging, and by the way, and all night, I was in continual thought and agitation of mind, how to behave myſelf in that weighty matter, firſt, imagining whereunto this ſhould tend, if it were attempted without the queen's majeſty of England's knowledge and good will, this realm, and I myſelf in particular having received ſuch favour and comfort at her highneſs's hands, and this whole ile ſuch peace and quietneſs, ſince God poſſeſſed her majeſty with the crown. And on the other part, ſeeing the duke had diſcloſed him to me, proteſting, none other were or ſhould be privy to our ſpeech, I tho't I could not find in my heart to utter any thing that might endanger him; moved to the uttermoſt with theſe cogitations, and all deſire of ſleep then removed, I prayed God to ſend me ſome good relief and outgate, to my diſcharge, and ſatisfaction of my troubled mind, which I found indeed; for upon the morn, or within a day or two thereafter, I entered into converſation with my lord of Leiceſter, in his chamber at the court, where he began to find ſtrange with me, that in the matter I made ſo difficult to him, ſtanding ſo preciſely on conference, and how when I had in my communication with the duke, come ſo far—— and there he made ſome diſcourſe with me, about that which was talke betwixt us, I perceiving that the duke had—† the matter to my lord of Leiceſter, and thinking me thereby diſcharged at the duke's hands, therefore I repeated the ſame communication in every point to my lord of Leiceſter, who deſired me to ſhew the ſame to the queen's majeſty, which I refuſed to do, willing him if he tho't it might import her highneſs any thing, that he as one —— by her majeſty, and for many benefits received at her highneſs's hands is obliged to wiſh her well, ſhould make declaration of the ſame to her majeſty, as I underſtand by ſome ſpeech of her highneſs to me, he did. This my declaration to the duke was the only cauſe,

† Probably *diſcloſed.*

that ſtaid the violence and trouble prepared for me unexecuted, as I have divers ways underſtood. The ſame declaration I was obliged to renew ſince in writings of —— ſent to my ſervant John Wood. The ſum whereof, I truſt, he ſhewed the duke, and ſomething alſo I wrote to himſelf, for it was tho't this ſhould redeem ſome time, that the duke ſhould not ſuddenly declare him our enemy, for his greatneſs was oft laid before me, and what friendſhip he had of the chief of the nobility in England, ſo that it might appear to the queen's majeſty of England—ſo cold towards us, and doing nothing publickly that might ſeem favourable for us, we had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect that her highneſs ſhould not be contrarious to the marriage when it ſhould be propoſed to her. The ſharp meſſage ſent by her majeſty with the lord Boyd, who had the like commiſſion from the duke tending ſo far to the ſaid queen's preferment, as it were propoſing one manner of conditions from both, gave us to think that her highneſs had been foreſeen in the duke's deſign, and that ſhe might be induced to allow thereof. But howbeit it was deviſed in England, that the lord of Lethington ſhould come as from me, and break the matter to her highneſs, as her majeſty in a letter declared that ſhe looked for his coming, yet that deviſe proceeded never of me, nor the noblemen at the convention could no wiſe accord to his ſending, nor allow of the matter motioned, but altogether miſliked it, as bringing with the ſame great inconveniencies to the ſurety and quietneſs of this whole iſle; for our proceeding have declared our miſliking and diſallowance of the purpoſe from the beginning, and if we had pleaſed he was ready for the journey. And in likewiſe it was deviſed to give conſent, that the —— *; between the ſaid queen and Bothwell, ſhould be ſuffered to proceed in this realm, as it was deſired by the ſaid lord Boyd, by reaſon we could not underſtand what was the queen's majeſty's pleaſure, and allowance in that behalf.—And whereas ye mean, that her highneſs was not made privy of any ſuch intention, the fault was not in me. The

* Probably *divorce*.

firſt motion being declared, as I have written, to my lord of Leiceſter, and by him imparted to her majeſty, ſo far as I could perceive by ſome ſpeech of her highneſs's to me, before my departing. Thus I have plainly declared how I have been dealt withal for this marriage, and how juſt neceſſity moved me not to require directly that which the duke appeared ſo——unto. And for my threatenings, to aſſent to the ſame, I have expreſſed the manner; the perſons that laid the matter before me, were of my own company. But the duke ſince hath ſpoken, that it was his writing which ſaved my life at that time. In concluſion I pray you perſuade her majeſty, that ſhe let no ſpeeches nor any other thing paſſed and objected to my prejudice, move her majeſty to alter her favour—towards me, or any ways to doubt of my aſſured conſtancy towards her highneſs; for in any thing which may tend to her honour and ſurety, I will, while I live, beſtow myſelf, and all that will do for me, notwithſtanding my hazard or danger, as proof ſhould declare, when her majeſty finds time to employ me.

No. I. (p. 63. vol. 2.)

William Maitland, of Ledington, to my lord of Leiceſter, March 20th 1570, *from Ledington.*

(An original)

THE great deſolation threatened to this whole realm, be the diviſions thereof in dangerous factions, doth preſs me to frame my letters to your lordſhip, in other ſort; then were behovefull for me, if I had no other reſpect, but only to maintain my private credit; therefore I am driven to furniſh them with matter, which I know not to be plauſible, whereupon by miſconſtruing my meaning, ſome there may take occaſion of offence, thinking that I rather utter my own paſſions, than go about to inform your lordſhip truly of the ſtate; but I truſt my plain dealing ſhall bear record to the ſincerity of my meaning; to make the ſame ſenſible, I will lay before your lordſhip's eyes, the plat of this country; which

firſt is divided into two factions, the one pretending the king's reign, the other alledging the queen to have been cruelly dealt withall, and unjuſtly deprived of her ſtate; the former is compoſed of a good number of nobility, gentlemen, and principal burroughs of the realme, who ſhall have, as Mr. Randolph beareth us in hand, the queen's majeſty your ſovereign's allowance and protection; the other hath in it ſome moſt principal of the nobility, and therewithall, good numbers of the inferior ſort, throughout the whole realm, which alſo look aſſuredly that all kings do allow their quarrel and will aid them accordingly. What conſequence this diviſion will draw after it, I leave it to your lordſhip's conſideration, there is fallen out another diviſion, accidentally, by my lord regent's death, which is like to change the ſtate of the other two factions, to increaſe the one, and diminiſh the other, which is grounded upon the regiment of the realm. Some number of noblemen aſpire to the government, pretending right thereto by reaſon of the queen's demiſſion of the croun, and her commiſſion granted at that time for the regiment during the king's minority; another faction doth altogether repine againſt that diviſion, thinking it neither fit nor tolerable, that three or four of the meaneſt ſort among the earls, ſhall preſume to challenge to themſelves a rule over the whole realme, the next of the blood, the firſt in rank, the greateſt alway both for the antientry of their houſes, degree, and forces, being negleckted; this order they think prepoſterous, that the meaner ſort ſhall be placed in public function to command, and the greater ſhall continue as private men to obey; beſides that, they think if the commiſſion had in the beginning been valewable (which the moſt part will not grant) yet can it not be extended to the preſent, for that the conditions thereunto annexed are ceaſed, and ſo the effect of the whole void; the latter part of this diviſion hath many pretences, for beſides the queen's faction, which is wholly on that ſide, a great number of theſe that have heretofore profeſſed the king's obedience do favour the ſame, and will not yield to the government of the other, whoſe preferments or reſpects they diſlike, when the queen's faction ſhall

be increaſed, with a part of the king's, and theſe not of leaſt ſubſtance, and yow may judge what is like to enſue; another incident is like to move men to enter in further diſcourſes, it is given out here in Scotland that the queen's majeſty is ſetting forth ſome forces towards the border, which ſhall enter this realm, to countenance theſe, that aſpire to the regiment, and ſuppreſs the contrary faction, and bruits are ſpread, that the ſame ſhall be here out of hand; theſe that think themſelves of equal force with their contrary faction at home, are rather an overmatch to them, yet not able to encounter with the forces of another prince, rather than yield to their inferiors, will, I fear, take advice of neceſſity, and evil counſellors, and ſeek alſo the maintenance of ſome foreign prince, whereby her majeſty (altho' no further inconvenient were to be feared) muſt be driven to exceſſive charges, and it would appear there were a conſpiracy of all the elements at one time to ſet us together by the ears, for now when the rumour of your forces coming towards the border is ſpread abroad, even at the ſame time is arrived at Dumbarton, a galzeon with a meſſenger ſent expreſly from the king of France, to that part of the nobility that favours the queen, to learn the ſtate of the country, and what ſupport they lack or deſire, either for furtherance of her affairs, or for their own ſafety; aſſuredly this meſſage will be well received and ſuffered accordingly, this is the preſent ſtate of Scotland. Now if your lordſhip would alſo know my opinion, how to choice the beſt, as the caſe ſtandeth; I will in that alſo ſatisfie your lordſhip, I am required from them to deal plainly, and your lordſhip ſhall judge whether I do ſo or not; for I think it plain dealing when I ſimply utter my judgment, and go not about to diſguiſe my intents. I truſt the queen's majeſty hath a deſire to retain at her devotion the realme of Scotland, which ſhe hath gone about to purchaſe, with beſtowing great charges, and for the loſs of ſome of her people; this deſire is honourable for her highneſs, profitable for both the countrys, and of none to be diſallowed; ſpecially if it be (as I take it) to have the amity of the whole realm, for it is not a portion of Scotland can ſerve her turn, nor

will it prove commodious for her to ſuit the friendſhip of a faction of Scotland, for in ſo doing, in gaining the beſt, ſhe may loſe the more, and the ſame would bring all her actions with us in ſuſpicion, if ſhe ſhould go about to nouriſh factions amongſt us, which meaning I am ſure never entered into her majeſty's heart; then if it be the friendſhip of the whole ſhe doth demand, let her not, for pleaſure of one part, go about to overthrow the remnant, which will not be ſo faiſible, as ſome may give her to underſtand; but rather, by way of treaty, let her go about to pacify the whole ſtate, bring the parties to an accord, reduce us all by good means to an uniformity, ſo ſhall ſhe give us all occaſion to think well of her doings, that ſhe tendeth out wealth, and provokes us univerſally to wiſh unto her majeſty a moſt proſperous continuance; by the contrary, if, for the pleaſure of a few, ſhe will ſend forces to ſuppreſs thoſe whom they miſlike, and ſo conſequently offend many; men be not ſo faint hearted, but they have courage to provide for their own ſafety, and not only will embrace the means partly offered, but will alſo procure further, at the hand of other princes. This for mine own part, I do abhor, and proteſt I deſire never to ſee forces of ſtrangers to ſet foot within this land, yet I know not to what point neceſſity may drive men into, as if men in the middle of the ſea were in a ſhip, which ſuddenly ſhould be ſet on fire, the fear of burning would make them leap into the ſea, and ſoon after the fear of the water would drive them to cleive again to the fired ſhip, ſo for avoiding preſent evil, men will many times be inforced to have recourſe to another no leſs dangerous. Truſt me forces will not bring forth any good fruit to her majeſty's behove, it muſt be ſome way of treaty ſhall ſerve the turn, wherein by my former letters your lordſhip doth know already what is my judgment; you ſee how plainly I do write, without conſideration in what part my letters may be taken, yet my hope is that ſuch as will favourably interpret them, ſhall think that I mean as well to her majeſty, and that realme, as theſe that will utter other language. I wiſh the continuance of the amity betwixt the two countrys, without other

reſpect, and will not conceal from her majeſty any thing, to my knowledge, tending to the prejudice thereof; if I ſhall perceave her majeſty taking frank dealings in evil part, I ſhall from thenceforth forbear; in the mean ſeaſon I will not ceaſe to trowble your lordſhip, as I ſhall have occaſion to write, and ſo I take my leave of your lordſhip.

No. II. (p 69, vol. 2.)

Letter of queen Elizabeth to the earl of Suſſeks, July 2d, 1570.

[Calderw. MS. Hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 189]

RIGHT truſty and well beloved couſin we great you well, this day we have received your letters of 28 the laſt month, with all other letters, ſent from Scotland, and mentioned in your letters, whereunto anſwer is deſired to be given before the tenth of this month; which is a very ſhort time, the weightineſs of the matters, and the diſtances of the places conſidered; nevertheleſs we have, as the ſhortneſs could ſuffer it, reſolved to give this anſwer following, which we will that yow, by warrant hereof ſhall cauſe to be given in our name to the earl of Lennox and the reſt of the noblemen conveened with him Where it is by them, in their letters, and writings alledged, that for lack of our reſolute anſwer, concerning the eſtabliſhing of the regiment of the realm, under their young king, great inconveniencies have happened, and therefore they have deferred now at their laſt convention to determine of the famine, who ſhall have the place of governour, until the 21ſt of this month, before which time they require to have our adviſe, in what perſon or perſons the government of that realm ſhall be eſtabliſhed, we accept very thankfully the goodwill and reputation they have of us, in yielding ſo frankly to require and follow our adviſe in a matter that toucheth the ſtate of their king, theirſelves, and realm ſo near, wherein as we perceive, that by our former forbearing to intermeddle therein, they have taken ſome diſcomfort, as though that we would not have regard to their ſtate and ſurety, ſo on the other part, they of their wiſdoms ought to think, that it might be by the whole world evil interpreted in us to appoint them a form of government, or a govern-

our by name, for that howſoever we ſhould mean well if we ſhould do ſo, yet it could not be without ſome in the heads of the eſtate, nobility, and community of that realm, that the government thereof ſhould be by me ſpecially named and ordained; ſo as finding difficulty on both parts, and yet miſliking moſt that they ſhould take any diſcomfort by our forbearing to ſhow our mind therein, we have thought this ſort for to proceed, conſidering with ourſelves how now that realm had been a good ſpace of time ruled in the name of their king, and by reaſon of his baſe age governed heretofore by a very careful and honourable perſon, the earl of Murray, until that by a miſchievous perſon (an evil example) he was murdered, whereby great diſorder and confuſion of neceſſity had, and will more follow, if determination be not made of ſome other ſpecial perſon or perſons, to take the charge of governor, or ſuperior ruler, ſpeciall for adminiſtration of law and juſtice, we cannot but very well allow the deſire of theſe lords to have ſome ſpeciall governor to be choſen; and therefore being well aſſured that their own underſtanding of all others is beſt to conſider the ſtate of that realm, and to diſcern the abilities and qualities of every perſon meet and capable for ſuch a charge, we ſhall better ſatisfie ourſelves, whom they by their common conſent ſhall firſt chuſe and appoint to that purpoſe, then of any to be by us aforehand uncertainly named, and that becauſe they ſhall perceave that we have care of the perſon of their king, who by nearneſs of blood, and in reſpect of his ſo young years, ought to be very tender and dear to us, we ſhall not hide our opinion from them, but if they ſhall all accord to name his grandfather, our couſin, the earl of Lennox to be governor alone, or jointly with others, (whom we hear to be in the mean time by their common conſent appointed lieutenant-general), reaſon moveth us to think that none can be choſen in that whole realm that ſhall more deſire the preſervation of the king, and be more meet to have the government for his ſafety, being next to him in blood of any nobleman of that realm, or elſewhere; and yet

hereby we do not mean to preſcrive to them this choice, except they ſhall of themſelves fully and freely allow thereof; furthermore we would have them well aſſured, that whatſoever reports or deviſes, are, or ſhall be ſpread or invented, that we have already yielded our mind to alter the ſtate of the king or government of that realm, the ſame are without juſt cauſe or ground by us given, for as we have already advertized them, that although we have yielded to hear, which in honour we could not refuſe, what the queen of Scots on her part ſhall ſay and offer, not only for her own aſſurance, but for the wealth of that realm, yet not knowing what the ſame will be, that ſhall be offered, we mean not to break the order of law and juſtice, by advancing her cauſe, or prejudging her contrary, before we ſhall deliberately and aſſuredly ſee, upon the hearing of the whole, ſome place neceſſary, and juſt cauſe to do; and therefore finding that realm ruled by a king, and the ſame affirmed by laws of that realm, and therefore inveſted by coronation and other ſolemnities uſed and requiſite, and generally ſo received be the whole eſtates, we mean not by yielding to hear the complaints or informations of the queen againſt her ſon, to do any act whereby to make concluſion of governments, but as we have found it, ſo to ſuffer the ſame to continue, yea not to ſuffer it to be altered by any means that we may impeſhe, as to our honour it doth belong, as by your late actions hath manifeſtly appeared, until by ſome juſtice and clear cauſe we ſhall be directly induced otherwiſe to declare our opinion; and this we would have them to know to be our determination and courſe that we mean to hold, whereon we truſt they for their king may ſee how plainly and honourably we mean to proceed, and how little cauſe they have to doubt of us, whatſoever to the contrary they have or ſhall hear; and, on the other part, we pray them of their wiſdoms to think how unhonourable, and contrary to all human order it were for us, when the queen of Scotland doth ſo many ways require to hear her cauſe, and doth offer to be ordered be us in the ſame, as well for mat-

ters betwixt ourſelves and her, as betwixt herſelf and her ſon and his party of that realm, againſt which offers no reaſon could move us to refuſe to give ear, that we ſhould aforehand openly and directly, before the cauſes be heard and conſidered, as it were, give a judgment or ſentence either for ourſelves or for them whom ſhe maketh to be her contraries. Finally ye ſhall admoniſh them that they do not, by miſconceiving our good meaning towards them, or by indirect aſſertions of their adverſary, grounded on untruths, hinder or weaken their own cauſe, in ſuch ſort, that our good meaning towards them ſhall not take ſuch effect towards them, as they ſhall deſire, or themſelves have need of. All this our anſwer ye ſhall cauſe be given them, and let them know, that for the ſhortneſs of time, this being the end of the ſecond of this month, we neither could make any longer declaration of our mind, nor yet write any ſeveral letters, as if time might have ſerved we would have done. 2d July 1570.

No. III. (p. 69, vol. 2.)

The biſhop of Roſs to ſecretary Lidington from Chattiſworth.

(15th June, 1570.)

I HAVE received your letters dated the 26th of May here at Chattiſworth the 10 of January, but on the receipt thereof I had written to you at length, like as the queen did with my lord Levingſton, by the which you will be reſolved of many points contained in your ſaid letter. I write to you that I have received your letter and credit from Thomas Cowy at London, and ſent to Leiceſter to know the queen of England's mind whether you ſhould come here or not. He ſent me word that ſhe will nowiſe have you come as one of the commiſſioners, becauſe ſhe is yet offended with you; and therefore it appears good that ye come not hither, but remain where ye are, to uſe your wiſdom and diligence, as may beſt advance the queen's affairs, for I perceive your weill and ſafety depends thereon, in reſpect of the great feid and ennimity born againſt you by your Scots people, and the great heirſhip taken of your father's landis; both were ſure demonſtrations of their malice. Yet I am encouraged by your ſtout

and deliberate mind. Aſſure yourſelf no diligence ſhall be omitted to procure ſupports forth off all parts where it may be had. We will not refuſe the aid neither of Papiſt, Jew, nor Gentil, after my advice; and to this end, during this treaty, let all things be well prepared. And ſeeing my lord Seaton is deſirous to go into Flanders, the queen thinks it very neceſſary that he ſo do, for the duke D'Alva has gotten expreſs command of the king of Spain to give ſupport, and I am ſure that there he ſhall have aid both of Flanders and the pope, for it abides only on the coming of ſome men of countenance, to procure and receive the ſame. He muſt needs tarry there, on the preparations thereof, during the treaty, which will be a great furtherance to the ſame here. The queen has already written to the duke D'Alva for this effect, advertizing of his coming; there is certain ſums of money coming for ſupport of the Engliſhmen, as I wrote to you before from the pope. Whereupon I would he had a general commiſſion to deal for them, and receive ſuch ſums as ſhall be given. The means ſhall be found to cauſe you to anſuerit of the ſums you writ for, to be diſpoiſit upon the furniſhing of the caſtle of Edenburgh, ſo being ſome honeſt and true man were ſent to Flanders to receive it, as ſaid is, which I would you prepared and ſent. Orders ſhall be taken for the metals as you writ of. We have proponit your avyce in entering to treat with the queen of England, for retiring of her forces puntyoally for lack of aid. Your anſwers to the Engliſhmen are tho't very good, but above all keep you weill out of their hands, in that caſe, eſtote prudentes ſicut ſerpentes. You may take experience with the hard dealing with me how ye would be uſed if ye were here, and yet I am not forth of danger, being in medio nationis pravæ; always no fear, with God's grace, ſhall make me ſhrink from her majeſty's ſervice Since the queen of England has refuſed that you come here, it appears to me quod nondum eſt ſedata malitia amorreorum, &c. and therefore if Athol or Cathenes might by any means be procured to come, they were the moſt fit for the purpoſe,

Rothes were alſo meet, if he and I were not both of one ſirname; ſo the treaty would get the leſs credit either in Scotland or here. Therefore avys, and ſend the beſt may ſerve the turn, and fail not Robert Melvil come with them, whoever comes, for ſo is the queen's pleaſure; in my laſt packet, with James Fogo, to you, in the beginning of May, I ſent a letter of the queen's own hand writing to him, which I truſt ye received. I am ſorry ye come not for the great relief I hoped to have had by your preſence, for you could well have handled the queen of England, after her humour, as you were wont to do. The reſt I refer to your good wiſdom, praying God to ſend you health. From Chattiſworth the 15th of January.

No. IV. (p. 84, vol. 2.)

The declaration of John Cais to the lords of Grange and Lethington youngare upon the 8th day of Oct. 1571.

WHEREAS you deſire to know the queen's majeſty's pleaſure, what ſhe will do for appeaſing of theſe controverſies, and therewith has offered yourſelves to be at her commandment, touching the common tranquillity of the whole iſle, and the amity of both realms; her pleaſure is in this behalf, that ye ſhould leave off the maintenance of this civil diſcord, and give your obedience to the king, whom ſhe will maintain to the utmoſt of her power.

And in this doing, ſhe will deal with the regent and the king's party, to receive you into favour, upon reaſonable conditions for ſecurity of life and livings.

Alſo ſhe ſays that the queen of Scotts, for that ſhe has practiſed with the pope and other princes, and alſo with her own ſubjects in England great and dangerous treaſons againſt the ſtate of her own country, and alſo to the deſtruction of her own perſon, that ſhe ſhall never bear authority, nor have liberty while ſhe lives.

If ye refuſe theſe gentle offers, now offered unto you, ſhe will preſently aid the king's party, with men, ammunition, and all neceſſary things, to be had againſt you.

Whereupon her majeſty requires your anſwer with ſpeed, without any delay.

No. V. (Book VI. p. 92, vol. 2.)

Articles ſent by Knox to the general aſſembly, Auguſt 5th, 1572. (Calderw. MS. Hiſt. vol. 2, 356.)

FIRST, deſiring a new act to be made ratifying all things concerning the king and his obedience that were enacted of before without any change, and that the miniſters who have contraveened the former acts be corrected as accordeth.

That ſute be made to the regent's grace and nobility maintaining the king's cauſe, that whatſoever proceedeth in this treaty of peace they be mindful the kirk be not prejudg'd thereby in any ſort, and they ſpecially of the miniſters, that have been robbed of their poſſeſſions within the kirk during the time of the troubles, or otherwiſe dung and injured, may be reſtored.

To ſute at the regent, that no gift of any biſhoprick or other benefice be given to any perſon, contrary to the tenor of the acts made in the time of the firſt regent of good memory, and they that are given contrar the ſaid acts, or to any unqualified perſon, may be revoked and made null be an act of ſecret council, and that all biſhopricks ſo vacand may be preſented, and qualified perſons nominat thereunto, within a year after the vaking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith be the commiſſioners of the nobility and of the kirk in the month of January laſt, and in ſpecial to complain upon the giving of biſhoprick of Roſs to the lord Methven.

That no pentions of benefices, great or ſmall, be given be ſimple donation of any lord regent, without conſent of the poſſeſſor of the ſaid benefices having title thereto, and the admiſſion of the ſuperintendent or commiſſioners of the province where this benefice lyeth, or of the biſhops lawfully elected according to the ſaid order taken at Leith; and deſire an act of council to be made thereupon, until the next parliament, wherein the famine may be ſpecially inacted, with inhibition to the lords of ſeſſion to give any letters or decreets, upon ſuch ſimple gifts of benefices or penſions not being given in manner above rehearſed, and that the kirk preſently aſ-

ſembled declare all ſuch gifts null ſo far as lyeth in their power.

That the firſt form of preſentation to benefices, which were in the firſt and ſecond regent's time, be not changed as now it is commonly; but that this clauſe be contained in the preſentation, that if the perſon preſented make not reſidance, or be ſlanderous or found unworthy either in life or doctrine be the judgment of the kirk (to which alwiſe he ſhall be ſubject) or meet to be tranſported to another room at the ſight of the kirk, the ſaid preſentation and all that ſhall fall thereupon ſhall be null and of no force nor effect; and this to have place alſo in the nomination of the biſhops.

That an act be made in this aſſembly that all things done in prejudice of the kirk's aſſumption of the third, either by papiſts or others, by giving of fews, life-rents, or taks, or any otherwiſe diſponing the ſaid aſſumed thirds, be declared null with a ſolemn proteſtation the whole kirk diſaſenteth thereto.

That an act be made decerning and ordaining all biſhops, admitted to the order of the kirk now received, to give account of their whole rents, and intromiſſions therewith once in the year, as the kirk ſhall appoint, for ſuch cauſes as the kirk may eaſily conſider the ſame to be moſt expedient and neceſſar.

Anent the juriſdiction of the kirk, that the ſame be determined in this aſſembly, becauſe this article hath long been poſtponed to make ſute to the regent and council for remedy againſt meſſengers and excommunicate perſons.

Laſt, That orders be taken anent the procurers of the kirk, who procure againſt miniſters and miniſtry, and for ſutting of juſtice of the kirk's actions in the ſeſſion.

No. VI. (p. 96, vol. 2.)

Declaration of Henry Killigrew, Eſq. upon the peace concluded the 23d Feb. 1572.

BE it known to all men, by theſe preſents, that I Henry Killigrewe, Eſq. ambaſſador for the queen's majeſty of England, Forasmuch as, at the earneſt motion and ſolicitation being made to me, on her highneſs's be-

half, there is accord and pacification of the public troubles and civil war within this realm of Scotland agreed and concluded, and the same favourably extended towards George earl of Huntly, lord Gordon and Baidzenuch, and the lord John Hamilton, son to the duke's grace of Chastellarault, and commendatour of the abby of Abirbrothock, for the surety of their lives, livings, honours, and goods of them, their kinsfolks, friends, servants, and partakers, now properly depending on them; in treating of the which said pacification, the murders of the late earl of Murray uncle, and the earl of Levenax grandfather, late regent to the king's majesty of Scotland his realm and lieges, as also an article touching the discharge for the fructis or moveable goods, which the said persons have taken fra persons professing the king's obedience, before the damages done or committed by them, since the 15th day of Junij 1567, and before the penult day of July last passed, by reason of the common cause or any thing depending thereupon, being thought by the king's commissaries matteris of such weght and importance, as the king's present regent could not conveniently, of himself, remit or discharge the same. Yet in respect of the necessity of the present pacification, and for the weill of the king, and common quietness of this realm and lieges, it is accorded, that the matters of remission of the said murderers, and of the discharge of the said fructis, moveable goods, and other damages, be moved by the persons desiring the said remissions and discharge to the queen's majesty my sovereign, as to the princess nearest both in blood and habitation to the king of Scots. And whatsoever her majesty shall advise and counsel touching the said remission and discharge, the said lord regent, for the weill of the king and universal quietness of the realm of Scotland, shall perform, observe, and fulfil the same. And in likewise, the said earl Huntly, and commendatour of Abirbrothock, being urged to have delivered pledges and hostages for observation of the conditions of the said accord and pacification, hath required me in place thereof, in her majesty's name, by virtue of my commission, to promise for them, that they shall truly and faithfully observe and keep the

ſaid pacification, and all articles and conditions thereof, for their parts, and that it would pleaſe her majeſty to interpoſe herſelf, as ſurety and cautioner for them to that effect, to the king's majeſty of Scotland their ſovereign and his ſaid regent, which I have done and promiſe to do, by virtue of her majeſty's commiſſion, as by the honourable and plain dealing of the ſaid earl and lord, their intention to peace well appears, the ſame being moſt agreeable to the mind of the queen's majeſty my ſovereign, which ſo long by her miniſters hath travelled for the ſaid pacification, and in the end, at her motion and ſolicitation, the ſame is accorded, knowing her majeſty's deſire, that the ſame may continue unviolate, and that the noblemen and others now returning to the king's obedience ſhall have ſufficient ſurety for their lives, livings, honours, and goods. Therefore in her majeſty's name, and by virtue of my commiſſion, I promiſe to the aforeſaid earl Huntly and commendator of Abirbrothock, that by her majeſty's good means, the ſaid remiſſion and diſcharge ſhall be purchaſed and obtained to them, their kinſfolks, friends, ſervants, and partakers, now properly depending upon them (the perſons ſpecified in the firſt abſtinence always excepted), as alſo that the ſaid pacification ſhall be truly obſerved to them, and that her majeſty ſhall interpoſe herſelf as conſervatrix thereof, and endeavour herſelf to cauſe the ſame to be truly and ſincerely kept in all points and articles thereof acordingly. In witneſs whereof, I have to this preſent ſubſcribed with my hand, and ſealed the ſame with mine own ſeal the 13th day of Feb. Anno Domini 1572. And this to be performed by me, betwixt the date hereof, and the parliament which ſhall be appointed for their reſtitution, or at the furtheſt before the end of the ſaid parliament. Sic ſubſcribitur.

The biſhop of Glaſgow's note concerning the queen of Scotland's dowry.

(1576. Cot. Lib. Calig. B. 4.)

THE queen of Scotland, dowager of France, had for her dowry, beſides other poſſeſſions, the dukedom of Turene, which was ſolemnly contracted and given to

her by the king and eſtates of parliament; which dukedom ſhe poſſeſſed peacefully till 1567, and then, upon the pacification between the king and Monſ. his brother, to augment whoſe appenage this dutchy was given, to which the queen of Scotland yielded upon account of princes who were her near relations, provided the equivalent which was promiſed her ſhould be faithfully performed. So that year, after a great many ſolicitations, in lieu of that dutchy, ſhe had granted her the county of Vermandaiſe, with the lands and bailiwicks of Seuley and Vetry: tho' 'tis known that county and the other lands were not of equal value with Turene, but was promiſed to have an addittion of lands in the neighbourhood to an equal value. Upon this letters patent were granted, which were confirmed in the courts of parliament, chamber of accounts, court of aids, chamber of the treaſury, and others neceſſary; upon which ſhe entered into poſſeſſion of that county, &c. Afterwards, by a valuation of the commiſſioners of the chamber of accounts, it was found that the revenue of that county, &c. did not amount to thoſe of Turene by 3000 livres. But, inſtead of making up this deficiency according to juſtice, ſome of the privy council, viz. M. de Cheverney, the preſidents of Bellievre, Nicocholay, and St. Bonet, in the name of the king, notwithſtanding of her aforeſaid loſſes, did ſell and alienate the lands of Senlis, and the dutchy of Eſtaimpes, to madame de Montpenſier, from whom the king received money; of which ſale the counſellors aforeſaid obliged themſelves to be guarantees, which hath hindered the aforeſaid queen to have juſtice done her. So that madam de Montpenſier hath been put in poſſeſſion of theſe lands of Senlis, contrary to all the declarations, proteſtations, and aſſurances of the king of France to queen Mary's ambaſſadors. So that the queen of Scotland is diſpoſſeſſed of her dowry, contrary to all equity, without any regard to her quality.

No. VII. (p. 101, vol. 2.)

A letter from the lord of Lochlevin to the regent Mortoun.

(3d March 1577. E. of Mortoun's Archives, Bund. B. No. 19.)

IT will pleaſe your grace, I received your grace's letter, and has conſidered the ſame. The parſon of Camſey was here at me before the receit thereof, directed fra my lord of Mar, and the maſter, anent my laſt written, which was the anſwer of the writing that the maſter ſent to me, which I ſend to vour grace, deſiring me to come to Sterling to confer with them. I had given my anſwer before the receipt of your grace's letter, that I behuiſſit to be beſyd Sanct Androis, at ane friend's tryſt, which I might not omit: I underſtand by my ſaid couſin, that the king's majeſty is to write to divers of the nobility to come there, anent your lordſhip's trial, and that he had written before his departure to my lord Monthrois. I underſtand likewiſe he will write to your grace to come there for the ſame effect, which I tho't good to make your grace foreſeen of the ſame, praying your grace, for the love of God Almighty, to look upon the beſt, and not to ſleep in ſecurity, but to turn you with unfeigned heart to God, and to conſider with yourſelf that when the king's majeſty was very young, God made him the inſtrument to diveſt his mother from her authority, who was natural princeſs, for offending of his Divine Majeſty, and that there ran no vice in her, but that the ſame is as largely in you, except that your grace condeſcended not to the deſtruction of your wife. For, as to hariotry and ambition, I think your grace has as far offended God, and far more in avariciouſneſs, which vices God never left unplagued, except ſpeedy repentance, which I pray God grant to your grace, for otherwiſe your grace can never have the love of God nor man. I pray your grace flatter not yourſelf; for if your grace believes that ye have the good will of them that are the king's good willers ye deceive yourſelf; for ſurely I ſee perfectly that your own particulars are not contented, lat be the reſt, and that moſt principally for your hard dealing. I pray your grace, beir with me that I am thus hamlie, for certainly it proceeds from no grudge, but from the very affection of my heart towards your grace, which has continued ſince we were acquainted. And now I ſee, becauſe the matter ſtands in your grace's handling

with the king's majeſty, for certainly, if your grace fall forth with him now, I ſee not how ye ſhall meet hereafter; pray I your grace to call to God, and look on the beſt, and caſt from your grace both your vices, to wit, ambition and avaritiouſneſs. I am riding this day to Sanct Androis, and truſt to return on Wedneſday at the fartheſt. If your grace will command me in any offices that are honeſt, that I may do your grace pleaſure in at Sterling, advertiſe of your grace's mind, and ſhall do to my power and knowledge, and this with my heartlie, &c. &c.

To our truſty couſin the lord Lochlevin.

(From the original. E. of Morton's Archieves, Bund. B. No. 31.)

TRUSTY couſin, after our moſt hearty commendations, we received your letter of the 3d of March, and as we take your plainneſs therein in good part, as proceeding from a friend and kinſman, in whoſe good affection towards us we never doubted, ſo ye may not think it ſtrange that we purge ourſelf ſo far of your accuſation, as in conſcience we find not ourſelf to have offended in. As touching our offence to God, we intend not to excuſe it, but to ſubmit us to his mercy; for ambition ſurely we think none can juſtly accuſe us; for in our private eſtate we could, and can live as well contented as any of our degree in Scotland, without further aſpiring. The bearing too the charge of the government of the realm, indeed, mon lead us, or any other that ſhall occupy that place, not ſimply to reſpect ourſelf, but his majeſty's rowme, which we ſupply, and therein not tranſcending the bounds of meaſure, as, we truſt, it ſhall not be found we have done, it ought not to be attributed to any ambition in us. For as ſoon as ever his majeſty ſhall think himſelf ready and able for his own government none ſhall more willingly agree and advance the ſame nor I, ſince I think never to ſet my face againſt him, whoſe honour, ſafety, and preſervation has been ſo dear unto me, nor I will never believe to find otherwiſe at his hand than favour, although all the unfriends I have in the earth were about him, to perſuade him to the contra-

ry. As we write unto you, our friendly dealing and confidence in the houſe of Mar is not thankfully acquit; as we truſt yourſelf conſiders; but becauſe the ambaſſadors of England, my lord of Angus, the chancellor, treaſurer, and ſome noblemen rides weſt this day to ſee the king, we pray you heartily addreſs yourſelf to be there as ſoon as ye can, and as ye ſhall find the likelihood of all things, let us be advertized thereof, with your own advice, by Alex. Hay, whom we have thought good to ſend weſt, ſeeing my lord of Angus from Sterling rides to Douglas. And ſo we commit you in the protection of God. At Holyrood-houſe, the 4th of March 1577.

For the avaritiouſneſs laid to our charge, indeed it lies not in us ſo liberally to deal the king's geare, as to ſatisfy all cravers, nor never ſhall any ſovereign and native born prince, let be any officer, eſchew the diſdains of ſuch, as thinks them judges to their own reward; in many cauſes I doubt not to find the aſſiſtance of my friends, but where my actions ſhall appear unhoneſt, I will not crave their aſſiſtance, but let me bear my own burthen.

No. VIII. (p. 121. vol. 2.)

Letter of Walſingham's to Randolph, Feb. 3 1580-1.

(Cott. Lib. Calig. C. 6.)

SIR,

I HAVE received from my lord lieutenant the copy of your letter of the 25th of the laſt directed unto his lordſhip, containing a report of your negociation with the king and his council, in your ſecond audience, wherewith having made her majeſty acquainted, ſhe ſeemed ſomewhat to *miſlike*, that you ſhould ſo long *deſer to deal for the enlargement of* Empedocles. But I made anſwer in your behalf, that I thought you were directed by the advice of the ſaid Empedocles *friends*, in the ſoliciting of that cauſe, who knew what time was fitteſt for you to take to deal therein, with moſt effect, and beſt ſucceſs, with which anſwer, her majeſty did in the end reſt very well ſatisfied, touching that point.

Your putting of us in hope that d'Aubigny might eaſily be won at her majeſty's devotion, was at firſt inter-

preted to have been ironie ſpoke by you. But ſince it ſeemeth you inſiſt upon it, I could wiſh you were otherwiſe perſuaded of the man, or at leaſt kept that opinion to yourſelf, for conſidering the end and purpoſe of his coming into Scotland, as may be many ways ſufficiently proved, was only to advance the queen's liberty, and reception into that government, to overthrow religion, and to procure a foreign match with Villenarius, wherein the incloſed copy, which you may uſe to good purpoſe there, ſhall partly give you ſome light; there is no man here can be perſuaded that he will change his purpoſe, for ſo ſmall advantage, as he is likely to find by it, and therefore you ſhall do well to forbear to harp any more upon that ſtring, as I have already written to you. The prince of Orange ſending, I fear will not be in time that it may do any good, for beſides that theſe people are in themſelves ſlow in their reſolutions, their own affairs are, at preſent, ſo great, their ſtate ſo confuſed, and the prince's authority ſo ſmall, that he cannot ſo ſoon take order in it; and yet for mine own part, I have not been negligent or careleſs in the matter, having more than three weeks paſt, ſent one about it, from whom nevertheleſs I do yet hear nothing. The letters, you deſire ſhould be written thither by the French miniſters, I have given order to Mr. Killingrew to procure, who, I doubt not, will carefully perform it, ſo that, I hope, I ſhall have them to ſend you by the next. And ſo I commit you to God. At Whitehall the 3d of February 1580.

Your very loving couſin and ſervant,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

This letter is an original, and in ſome parts of it wrote in cyphers and explained by another hand. By Empedocles is underſtood Morton. By Villenarius the king of Scots, d'Aubigney is marked thus. o I o

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3d Feb. 1580.

Sundry notes gathered upon good diligence given, and in time to be better manifeſted, being now thought meet to be in convenient

ſort uſed, and laid againſt D'Aubigny, to prove him abuſing the king, the nobility, and that ſtate.

(Cott. Lib. Calig. C. 6. An original.)

FIRST, it hath been informed, by credible means, that D'Aubigney was privy and acquainted with la Nave the king's mother's ſecretary, coming into Scotland, and of his errand there, tending chiefly to perſuade the king, to think and eſteem it an evil preſident for princes, that ſubjects might have power to deprive their lawful ſovereigns as they did his mother, who was not minded, by any mean, to defeat him, either of the preſent government of that realm, or yet of the poſſeſſion of the crown and inheritance thereof, but rather to aſſure the ſame to him; and that for the accompliſhment of that aſſurance, the king ſhould have been adviſed and drawn to have governed, for ſome ſhort time, as prince, calling D'Aubigny to rule as governor of the prince, by commiſſion from the queen his mother, until the king's enemies were ſuppreſſed; after which time D'Aubigny ſhould have power given to eſtabliſh and reſign that kingdom to the king, by his mother's voluntary conſent, whereby all ſuch, as had before been in action againſt the queen or her authority, might be brought to ſtand in the king's mercy. And for that the king might live in more ſurety, D'Aubigny ſhould be declared both ſecond perſon in ſucceſſion of that crown, and alſo lieutenant general of Scotland, and that D'Aubigny before his departure out of France, received commiſſion from the king's mother to the effects remembered, or near the ſame. That in this behalf he had conference with the biſhops of Glaſgow, and Roſs, and with ſir James Baford, with which perſons, and with the duke of Guiſe, he had and hath frequent intelligence, and by ſir James Baford he was adviſed to confer with the lord John Hamilton before his repair into Scotland, whereunto he agreed, and yet afterwards he ſent one John Hamilton to the ſaid lord John to excuſe him in this part, alledging, that he did forbear to come to him, leſt thereby he ſhould marr or hinder greater effects to be executed by him in Scotland.

That before his coming into that realm, the nobility and country were well quieted and united in good concord, with great love betwixt the king and nobility, and amongſt the nobleſſe, but hath both drawn the king againſt ſundry of the chiefeſt of his nobility, that have been moſt ready, and have expended their blood and poſſeſſions to preſerve religion, and defend the king's perſon, his government and eſtate, and alſo hath given occaſion of great ſuſpicions and offence to be engendered betwixt the king and his nobility, and eſpecially with ſuch as have been in action againſt the king's mother, and her authority, who by force and means of the ſaid commiſſion and practice, ſhould have been brought into moſt dangerous condition; and who alſo may find themſelves in no ſmall perill while he poſſeſſes the king's ear, abuſeth his preſence, and holdeth ſuch of the principal keys and ports of this realm, as he preſently enjoyeth.

That he hath drawn the king not only to forget the great benefits done to him and his realme, by the queen's majeſty of England, but alſo to requite the ſame with ſundry ſigns of great unthankfulneſs, and wounding therewith the honour of her majeſty, and thereby hath adventured to ſhake the happy amity long time continued betwixt thoſe princes.

And whereas theſe griefs were to be repaired by gentle letters and good offers, to have paſſed and been done betwixt them: In which reſpect the king and council having reſolved to write to her majeſty, for her highneſs better ſatisfaction in the late negociation of Mr. Alexander Hume of Northberwick, had given order to the king's ſecretary to frame that letter: He minding to break the bond of amity in ſunder, willed the ſecretary to be ſure that nothing ſhould be inſerted in that letter, whereby the king ſhould crave any thing at her hands, ſeeking, thereby to cut off all loving courteſies betwixt them, as by the declaration of the ſaid ſecretary may be better learned, and thereupon further approved.

That under the hope and encouragement of D'Au-

bigny's protection, Alexander King presumed with that boldness to make his lewd harangue, and by his means hath hitherto escaped chastisement and correction, due for his offence.

That sir James Baford, condemned of the slaughter of the king's father, hath been called into the realm by Lennox, without the privity of the king. And whereas the said sir James found in a green velvet desk, late the earl of Bothwell's, and saw and had in his hands the principal band of the conspirators in that murder, and can best declare and witness who were authors and executors of the same; he is drawn by Lennox to suppress the truth, and to accuse such as he himself knoweth to be innocent; and as by order of law, will be so found, if they may have due trial, which, contrary to all justice, is by Lennox means denied.

This is the charge againſt D'Aubigny, mentioned in the foregoing letter by Walſingham; but by Baford they mean ſir James Balfour.

No. IX. (p. 133. vol. 2.)

The copy of the king of France his directions ſent to Scotland with Seigneur de la Motte Fenelon. Tranſlated out of the French.

(Calderw. MS. Hiſtory, vol. 3. p. 208.)

FIRST, on their moſt chriſtian majeſty's part, he ſhall make the moſt honourable ſalutation and viſiting to the moſt ſerene king of Scotland, their good brother and little ſon, that in him is poſſable.

To give him their letters that are cloſed, ſuch and ſuch like as they have written to him with their hands, and to ſhow expreſsly the perfect friendſhip and ſingular affection, that their majeſty's bear to him, and to bring back the anſwer.

To take heed to the things which touch near the moſt ſerene king, to the effect that his perſon may be in no danger, but that it may be moſt ſurely preſerved.

And that he be not hindered in the honeſt liberty that he ought to have, and that no greater, or ſtraiter guards be about him than he had before.

And ſuch like, that he be not impeached in the au-

thority, that God hath given to him of king and prince ſovereign above his ſubjects, to the effect he may as freely ordain and command in his affairs, and in the affairs of his country, with his ordinary council as he was uſed to do of before.

That his nobility, barons, and commonality of his country may have their free liberty to reſort to his ſerene majeſty without ſuſpicion of greater guards or more armed men about his perſon than the uſe was, that they be not afraid and hindered to reſort; and further that the ſignieur de la Motte Fenelon ſall liberally and freely ſpeak to the ſaid ſerene king and council, requiring the re-eſtabliſhing of that that may or hath been changed or altered.

And that he may know if the principalls of the nobility, and other men of good behaviour of the towns and commonality of the country conveens, and are content with the form of government preſently with the ſaid ſerene king, to the end that if there be any miſcontent he may travaile to agree them together, and that he return not without the certainty of the ſamine.

And if he may underſtand that there be any who have not uſed them ſo reverently towards the ſaid ſerene king their ſovereign lord, as the duty of their obedience required, that he may pray on this behalf of his majeſty moſt chriſtian the ſaid ſerene king his good brother, giving him councill wholly to forget the ſame, and exhorting them to do their duty towards his majeſty, in time coming, in all reſpects with the obedience and true ſubjection they ought him.

And if the ſaid ſeigneur de la Motte perceives the ſaid ſerene king to be in any manner conſtrained of his perſon, authority, liberty, and diſpoſition of his affairs, than he uſed to be, and not convenient for his royal dignity, or as the ſovereignty of a prince does require, that he uſe all moyen lawful and honeſt to place him in the ſamine, and that he imploy as much as the credit of his moſt chriſtian majeſty may do toward the nobility, and ſubjects, of that contry, and as much as may his name, with the name of his crown towards the Scottiſh nation,

the which he loves and confides in as much as they were proper Frenchmen.

And that he witneſs to the ſaid ſerene king, and his eſtates, of his conſent, and to all the nobility and principall perſonages of the contry, that his moſt chriſtian majeſtie will continue on his part in the moſt ancient alliance and confederacy, which he hath had with the ſaid ſerene king his good brother, praying his nobility and contry, with his principall ſubjects, to preſerve in the ſamine, in all good underſtanding and friendſhip with him; the which, on his part, he ſhall do, obſerving the ſamine moſt inviolable.

Further his moſt chriſtian majeſty underſtanding that the ſerene king his good brother was contented with the duke of Lenox, and his ſerviſe, the ſaid ſignieur de la Motte, had charge to pray his ſerene majeſty that he might remaine beſide him to his contentment, believing that he ſhould more willingly intertain the points of love and confederacie, betwixt their majeſtys and their contrys, becauſe he was a good ſubject to them both; and if he might not remain, without ſome alteration of the tranquility of his eſtate, that he might retire him to his own houſe in the ſaid country, in ſurenes, or if he pleaſed to return to France that he might ſurely——and if it pleaſes his ſerene majeſty, to cauſe ceaſe and ſtay the impeachments, that are made of new upon the frontiers, to the effect that the natural Frenchmen may enter as freely into the country, as they were wont to do of before.

And that there may be no purpoſe of diffamation, nor no ſpeech but honourable of the moſt chriſtian king, in that contry, but ſuch like as is ſpoken moſt honourably of the ſerene king of Scotland in France.

He had another head to propone, which he concealed till a little before his departure, to wit, that the queen, the king's mother, was content to receive her ſon in aſſociation of the kingdom.

No. X. (p. 147, vol. 2.)

Lord Hunſdon to Sir Francis Walſingham, the 14th of Auguſt 1584, from Berwick.

(Calderw. MS. Hiſtory, vol. 3. p. 374.)

SIR,

ACCORDING to my former letters, touching my meeting with the earl of Arran upon Wedneſday laſt, there came hither to me from the earle, the juſtice clerk, and ſir William Stuart, captain of Dumbarton, both of the king's privie council, to treat with me about the order of our meeting, referring wholly to me to appoint the hour, and the number we ſhould meet withal; ſo as we concluded the place to be Foulden, the hour to be ten o'clock, and the number with ourſelves to be 13 of a ſide; and the reſt of our troops to ſtand each of them a mile from the town; the one on the one ſide, the other on the other ſide, ſo as our troops were two miles aſunder; I was not many horſemen, but I ſupplied it with footmen, where I had 100 ſhot on horſe, but they were very near 500 horſe well appointed: According to which appointment, we met yeſterday, and after ſome congratulations, the erle fell in the like proteſtations of his good will and readineſs to ſerve the queen's majeſty, before any prince in the world, next his ſovereign, as he had done heretofore by his letters, and rather more; with ſuch earneſt vows, as unleſs he be worſe than a devil, her majeſty may diſpoſe of him at her pleaſure; this being ended, I entered with him touching the cauſe I had to deal with him, and ſo near as I could, left nothing unrehearſed, that I had to charge the king or him with any unkind dealing toward her majeſty, according to my inſtructions, which without any delay he anſwered preſently, as ye ſhall perceive by the ſaid anſwers ſent herewith; but I replying unto him, he amplified them with many more circumſtances, but to this effect.

Then I dealt with him touching the point of her majeſty's ſatisfaction, for the uttering ſuch practices as has been lately ſet on foot for the diſquieting of her majeſty and her eſtate, who thereof made ſundry diſcourſes, what marriages have been offered to his majeſtie by ſundry princes, and by what means the earle has ſought

to divert them, and for what cauſes; the one, for that be marriage with Spain or France, he muſt alſo alter his religion, which as he is ſure the king will never doe, ſo he will never ſuffer him to hearken unto it, ſo long as he has any credit with him; he denys not but the king has been dealt withal be practices to deal againſt her majeſty, which he has ſo far denied and refuſed to enter into, as they have left dealing therein, but whatſoever the king or he knoweth therein, there ſhall be nothing hidden from her majeſty, as her majeſty ſhall know very ſhortly; ſurely it ſeems by his ſpeeches, that if the king would have yielded thereunto there had been no ſmall company of French in Scotland ere now to diſquiet her majeſty.——This being ended, I dealt with him earneſtly for the ſtay of this parliament, which now approacheth; or at the leaſt that there may be nothing done therein, to the prejudice of theſe noblemen and others now in England, for the forfaulting of their livings and goods; hereupon he made a long diſcourſe to me, firſt of the earl of Angus dealing about the earl of Morton, then of his going out, notwithſtanding of ſundrie gracious offers the king had made him, then of the road of Ruthven, how that preſently after they had the king's majeſty in their hands, they imprifened himſelf, dealt with the king for putting off the duke out of the realme, the king refuſed ſo to do, they told him plainly that if he would not he ſhould have the earl of Arran's head in a diſh; the king aſked what offence the earl had made? and they anſwered it muſt be ſo, and ſhould be ſo; hereupon, for the ſafeguard of Arran's life, the king was conſent to ſend away the duke, and yet Arran afterwards ſundrie times in danger of his life; I alledged unto him the king's letter to the queen's majeſty, and his acts in council, that they had done nothing but for his ſerviſe, and with his good liking and contentment, who anſwered me he durſt do no otherwiſe, nor could not do any thing but that which pleaſed them, with ſuch a number of other their dealings with the king whileſt he was in their hands as are too long to be written, and too bad if they were true: I ſaid the king might have let the queen's majeſty's ambaſſador have known his mind ſe-

cretly, and her majeſty would have relieved him; he anſwered, that the king was not ignorant that the apprehenſions in that manner, proceeded from Mr Bow's practice, and thereby durſt not impart ſo much to him, and yet the king was content and did give remiſſion to as many as would acknowledge their faults, and aſk remiſſion, and ſuch as would not, he thought fit to baniſh, to try their further loyalty, in which time they conſpired the king's ſecond apprehenſion, and the killing of the earle, and others, and ſeduced the miniſters to their faction, and yet not ſatisfied with theſe conſpiracies and treaſonable dealings (as he terms them) are entered into a third, being in England under her majeſty's protection to diſhonour her majeſty as far as in them lyeth, or at leaſt to cauſe the king conceave ſome unkindneſs in her majeſty, for harbouring of them; I wrote to yow what the conſpiracy was, the taking of the king, the killing of the earle of Arran, and ſome others, the taking of the caſtle of Edinr. and bringing home the earles, to take the charge of the king; all which (ſays he) is by Drummond confeſſed, and by the provoſt of Glencudden not greatly denied, and the conſtable of the caſtle thereupon fled; the earl brought Drummond with him as far as Langton, where he lay, to have confeſſed the conſpiracy before me, but having at his lighting received a blow on his leg with a horſe, ſo as he could bring him no further, I replied that I thought verily they would not work any ſuch practices in reſpect of the queen's majeſty, abiding within her realme, and if there be any ſuch practices, they have proceeded from others, and they not privie unto them; and that if it be not apparently proved againſt them, that it will be thought to be ſome practice to aggravate the fault, and to make them the more odious to the king. He anſwered me, that it ſhould be proved ſo ſufficiently, that they ſhould not be able with truth to deny it, for their own hands is to be ſhowed to part of it, and therefore concluded, that if her majeſty ſhould ſo preſs the king for them at this time, that would rather hinder this matter of the amitty, nor further it, and that ſince they ſeek chiefly his life, he could not, in any reaſon, ſeek to do them any good; and beſides he

aſſured me, that if he would, he dare not, this laſt matter being fallen out as it is; and ſurely if this matter had not fallen out, I would not have doubted the reſtoring of the earl of Mar very ſhortly, if her majeſty would have employed me therein, but for the earl of Angus, I perceive the king is perſuaded that both he, and the reſt of the Douglaſſes, have conceived ſo mortall an hatred againſt him and the earl of Arran, about the death of the earle of Morton, as if they were at home, to-morrow next, they would not leave to practiſe and conſpire the death of them both, and therefore a hard matter to do any thing for him: finally, he concluded and required me to aſſure her majeſty from the king, that there ſhall nothing be hid from her, nor any thing left undone that may ſatisfie her majeſty with reaſon, and that the king ſhall never do any thing, nor conſent to have any thing done in her prejudice, ſo long as he had any credit with him, or authority under him. Having thus far proceeded, he deſired to ſhew me his commiſſion, which is under the great ſeal, to himſelf only, which is as large as may be, and yet ſundrie of the privie councel there with him, but not one in commiſſion, nor preſent, nor near us all this time, having ſpent almoſt five hours in theſe matters; he preſented to me the maſter of Gray, who delivered to me a letter from the king in his commendation, whom I perceive the king means to ſend to her majeſty, and therefore requires a ſafe-conduct for his paſſage, which I pray yow procure, and to ſend it as ſoon as you may. I let him underſtand of the lord Seaton's negociation with the French king. He ſwore to me, that Seaton was but a knave, and that it was partly againſt his will, that he ſhould be ſent thither. But his commiſſion and inſtruction being of no great importance, he yielded the ſooner; and if Seaton has gone beyond his inſtructions, which Arran drew himſelf, he will make Seaton ſmart for it. Touching William Newgate, and Mark Golgan, he proteſted he never heard of any ſuch; he ſays there was a little poor ſoul, with a black beard, come thither a begging, who ſaid he was an enemy to Deſmond, to which he gave a croun, but never heard of him ſince, and for any Scots

man going into Ireland, he says there is no such matter; if there be, there may be some few raskals that he knows not of; and touching the coming of any Jesuits into Scotland, he says it is but the slanderous devise of the king's enemys, and such as would have the world believe the king were ready to revolt in religion, who the world shall well see will continue as constant therein, as what prince soever professed it most; and the earl himself dos protest to me, that to his knowledge, he never saw a Jesuit in his life, and did assure me if there were any in Scotland, they should not do so much harm in Scotland, as their ministers would do, if they preach such doctrines as they did in Scotland; and touching one Ballenden, of whom I wrote to yow, I heard from Mr Colvill, the earle avows constantly that he knows not, nor hath not heard of any such man, but he would inquire at the justice clerk, and would inform me what he could learn of that; thus I have made you as short a discourse as I can of so many matters, so long discoursed upon, but these are the principal points of all our talk, so near as I can remember it, and for this time I commit you to the Almighty. At Berwick the 14th of August, 1584.

The king is very desirous to have my son Robert Cary to come to him, I pray you know her majesty's pleasure.

Arran's answers to the griefs or articles proponed to the lord Hunsdon, set down in another form.

As to the strait and severe persecution of all such, as have been noted to have been well affected to the queen's majesty, it cannot appear they were either for that cause punished, or hardly dealt with, since his majesty of late has been so careful and diligent to choice out good instruments to deal betwixt her majesty and him, as his majesty has done in electing of your lordship and me; besides that in all their accusations, their good will and affection born to her majesty was, at no time, laid to their charge, but capital actions of treason many way tried now be the whole three estates, and more than manifest to the world.

As for his majeſty inhibiting, by public proclamation, ſuch as were baniſhed, not to repair in England; the bruits and whiſperings that came to his majeſty's ears, of their conſpiracies and treaſons, which ſince ſyn they accompliſhed, ſo far as in them lay, moved his majeſty to inhibit them to repair to any place, ſo near his majeſty's realm, leſt they ſhould have attempted theſe things which ſhortly they did attempt, being farther off, and more diſtant both by ſea and land.

As for reception of Jeſuits, and others, her majeſty's fugitives, and not delivering them according to his promiſe, as your lordſhip propones, his majeſty would be moſt glad that ſo it might fall out by your lordſhip's traviles, that no fugitive of either realme ſhould be received of either, and when ſo ſhall be, it ſhall not fall on his majeſty's part, albeit in very deed this time bygone his majeſty has been conſtrained to receipt her majeſty's mean rebells and fugitives, contrar his good naturall, ſince her majeſty hath receipt, in effect, the whole and greateſt rebels and traitors his majeſty in his own blood ever had; as for the agreement with his majeſty's mother anent their aſſociation, his majeſty has commanded me, in preſence of your lordſhip's ſervant, to aſſure her majeſty and your lordſhip, in his majeſty's name, that it is altogether falſe, and an untruth, nor any ſuch like matter done yet.

His majeſty has alſo commanded me to aſſure your lordſhip, that it is alſo falſe and untrue, that his majeſty has, by any means direct or indirect, ſent any meſſage to the pope, or received any from him; or that his majeſty has dealt with Spain or any foreigners, to harm her majeſty or her realm, which his majeſty could have no honour to do, this good intelligence taking place, as I hope in God it ſhall.

As concerning the contemptuous uſage of her majeſty's miniſters, ſent unto his majeſty, his majeſty uſed none of them ſo; and if his majeſty had, ſufficient cauſe was given by them, as ſome of their own writs do yet teſtify; as I more particularly ſhowed your lordſhip at Foulden at our late meeting.

No. XI. (p. 152, vol. 2.)

The Scottiſh queen's offers upon the effect of her liberty propounded by her ſecretary Nau, November 1584.

(Cot. Lib. Calig. C. 8. A copy.)

THE queen my miſtreſs being once well aſſured of your majeſty's amity,

1. Will declare openly that ſhe will (as it is ſincerely her meaning) ſtraitly to join unto your majeſty, and to the ſame to yield and bear the chief honour and reſpect, before all other kings and princes in Chriſtendom.

2. She will ſwear, and proteſt ſolemnly, a ſincere forgetfulneſs of all wrongs which ſhe may pretend to have been done unto her in this realm, and will never, in any ſort or manner whatſoever, ſhew offence for the ſame.

3. She will avow and acknowledge, as well as in her own particular name, as alſo for her heirs and others deſcending of her for ever, your majeſty, for juſt, true, and lawful queen of England.

4. And conſequently, will renounce, as well for herſelf, as for her ſaid heirs, all rights and pretences which ſhe may claim to the crown of England, during your majeſty's life, and other prejudice.

5. She will revoke all acts and ſhews, by her heretofore made, of pretence to this ſaid crown to the prejudice of your majeſty, as may be the taking of the arms and ſtile of queen of England, by the commandment of king Francis her late lord and huſband.

6. She will renounce the pope's bull for ſo much as may be expounded to turn in her favour, or for her behoof, touching the deprivation of her majeſty, and will declare that ſhe will never help and ſerve herſelf with it.

7. She will not proſecute, during your majeſty's life, by open force or otherways, any publick declaration of her right in the ſucceſſion of this realm, ſo as ſecret aſſurance be given unto her, or at the leaſt publick promiſe, that no deciding thereof ſhall be made in the prejudice of her, or of the king her ſon, during your majeſty's life, not after your deceaſe, until ſuch time as

they have been heard thereupon, in public, free, and general assembly of the parliament of the said realm.

8. She will not practise, directly or indirectly, with any of your majesty's subjects, neither within nor out of your realm, any thing tending to war, civil or foreign, against your majesty and your estate, being under pretext of religion, or for civil and politick government.

9. She will not maintain or support any of your subjects declared rebels, and convicted of treason against you.

10. She will enter into the association, which was shewed her at Wingfield for the surety of your majesty's life, so as there be mended or right explicated some clauses, which I will show to your majesty, when I shall have the copy thereof, as I have before time required.

11. She will not treat with foreign kings or princes, for any war or trouble against this state, and will renounce, from this time, all enterprises made or to be made in her favour for that respect.

12. Furthermore, this realm being assailed by any civil or foreign war, she will take part with your majesty, and will assist you in your defence with all her forces and means, depending of herself and with all her friends of Christendom.

13. And to that effect, for the mutual defence and maintenance of your majesty, and the two realms of this isle, she will enter with your Majesty in a league defensive, as shall be more particularly advised, and will perswade, as much as in her, the king her son to do the like.

The leagues with all parts abroad remaining firm, and especially the antient league between France and Scotland, in that which shall not be against this present.

14. She will enter into a league offensive, having good assurance, or secret declaration and acknowledgment of her right in the succession of this crown, and promise, that happening any breach betwixt France and this realm (which she prayeth God never to happen), the just value of her dowry shall be placed for her in lands of the revenue of the crown.

15. For assurance of her promises and covenants, she doth offer to abide herself in this realm for a certain time (better hostage can she not give than her own person), which so as she be kept in the liberty here before propounded, is not in case to escape secretly out of this country, in the sickly state she is in, and with the good order which your majesty can take therein.

16. And in case your majesty do agree to her full and whole deliverance, to retire herself at her will out of this realm, the said queen of Scots she will give sufficient hostage for such time as will be advised.

17. If she abide in this realm, she will promise not to depart out of it, without your licence, so as it be promised unto her that her state, in such liberty as shall be accounted unto her, shall not be in any sort altered, untill after her tryall to have attempted against your life, or other trouble of your estate.

18. If she go into Scotland, she will promise to alter nothing there in the religion which is now used there, she being suffered to have free exercise of hers, for her and her household, as it was at her return out of France; and further to pull out every root of new division between the subjects, that none of the subjects of Scotland shall be sifted for his conscience, nor constrained to go to the service of the contrary religion.

19. She will grant a general abolition of all offences done against her in Scotland, and things shall remain there as they are at this present, for the respect, saving that which hath been done against her honour, which she meaneth to have revoked and annulled.

20. She will travel to settle a sure and general reconciliation between the nobility of the country, and to cause to be appointed about the king her son, and in his council, such as shall be fit for the entertainment of the peace and quiet of the country, and the amity of the realm.

21. She will do her best to content your majesty, in favour of the Scots lords banished and refuged hither, upon their due submission to their princes, and your majesty's promise to assist the said queen and king of Scot-

land againſt them, if they happen to fall into their former faults.

22. She will proceed to the marriage of the king her ſon, with the advice and good council of your majeſty.

23. As ſhe will paſs nothing without the king her ſon, ſo doth ſhe deſire that he intervene conjointly with her in this treaty, for the greater and perfecter aſſurance thereof, for otherwiſe any thing can hardly be eſtabliſhed to be ſound and continue.

24. The ſaid Scotch queen truſteth, that the French king, her good brother, according to the good affection which he hath always ſhewed her, and hath been afreſh teſtified unto me by Monſr de Manniſſiere for this ſaid treaty, will very willingly intervene, and will aſſiſt her for the ſurety of her promiſes.

25 And ſo will the princes of the houſe of Lorrain, following the will of the ſaid king, will bind themſelves thereunto.

26 For other kings and princes of Chriſtendom, ſhe will aſſay to obtain the like of them, if for greater ſolemnity and approbation of the treaty it be found to be neceſſary.

27. She doth deſire a ſpeedy anſwer, and final concluſion of the premiſes, to the end to meet in time with all inconveniencies.

28. And in the mean time, the more to ſtrengthen the ſaid treaty, as made by her of a pure and frank will, ſhe deſireth that demonſtration be made of ſome releaſement of her captivity.

Objections againſt the Scottiſh queen, under ſecretary Walſingham's hand, November 1584.

THE queen of Scots is ambitious, and ſtandeth ill affected to her majeſty, and therefore it cannot be but that her liberty ſhould bring peril unto her majeſty.

That her enlargement will give comfort to papiſts, and other ill affected ſubjects, and greatly advance the opinion had of her title as ſucceſſor.

That as long as ſhe ſhall be continued in her majeſty's poſſeſſion, ſhe may ſerve as it were a gage of her majeſty's ſurety, for that her friends, for fear of the danger

ſhe may be thrown into, in caſe any thing ſhould be done in her favour, dare not attempt any thing in offence of her majeſty.

November 1584. *What courſe were fit to be taken with the queen of Scots either to be enlarged or not.*

(Cot. Lib. Cal. 8.)

THE courſe to be taken with the ſaid queen may be conſidered of in three degrees; either,

1. To continue her under cuſtody in that ſtate ſhe now is.

2. To reſtrain her of the preſent liberty ſhe now hath.

3. Or to ſet her at liberty upon caution.

1. Touching the firſt, to continue her under cuſtody in that ſtate ſhe now is; it is to be conſidered, that the princes that favour that queen, upon the complaint ſhe maketh of hard uſage, are greatly moved with commiſeration towards her, and promiſe to do their endeavour for her liberty, for which purpoſe her miniſters ſolicit them daily.

And to move them the more to pity her caſe, ſhe acquainted them with her offers made to her majeſty, which appeared to be no leſs profitable than reaſonable for her majeſty, ſo as the refuſal and rejecting giveth her friends and favourers cauſe to think her hardly dealt withal, and therefore may, with the better ground and reaſon, attempt ſomewhat for the ſetting her at liberty.

It is alſo likely that the ſaid queen, upon this refuſal, findeth her caſe deſperate, will continue her practice under hand, both at home and abroad, not only for her delivery, but to attain to the preſent poſſeſſion of this crown upon her pretended title, as ſhe hath hitherto done, as appeareth, and is moſt manifeſt by letters and plots intercepted, and chiefly by that late alteration of Scotland which hath proceeded altogether by her direction, whereby a gap is laid open for the malice of all her majeſty's enemies, ſo as it appeareth that this manner of keeping her, with ſuch number of perſons as ſhe now hath, and with liberty to write and receive letters (being duly conſidered) is offenſive to the princes the ſaid queen's friends; rather chargeable than profitable

to her majeſty; and ſubject to all ſuch practices as may peril her majeſty's perſon or ſtate, without any proviſion for her majeſty's ſafety, and therefore no way to be liked of.

2. Touching the ſecond, to reſtrain her in a more ſtraighter degree of the liberty ſhe hath hitherto enjoyed.

It may at firſt ſight be thought a remedy very apt to ſtop the courſe of the dangerous practices foſtered heretofore by her: For, true it is, that this remedy might prove very profitable, if the realm of Scotland ſtood in that ſort devoted to her majeſty, as few years paſt it did; and if the king of that realm were not likely, as well for the releaſe of his mother, as for the advancement of both their pretended titles, to attempt ſomewhat againſt this realm and her majeſty, wherein he ſhould neither lack foreign aſſiſtance, nor a party here within this realm: but the king and that realm ſtanding affected as they do, this reſtraint, inſtead of remedying, is likely to breed theſe inconveniencies following:

Firſt, It will increaſe the offence both in him, and in the reſt of the princes her friends that miſliked of her reſtraint.

Secondly, It will give them juſt cauſe to take ſome way of redreſs.

Laſtly, It is to be doubted, that it may provoke ſome deſperate ill-diſpoſed perſon, all hope of her liberty removed, to attempt ſomewhat againſt her majeſty's own perſon, (a matter above all others to be weighed,) which inconveniency being duly conſidered, it will appear manifeſtly, that the reſtraint, in a ſtraighter degree, is likely to prove a remedy ſubject to very hard events.

The latter degree, whether it were fit to ſet the ſaid queen at liberty, miniſtreth ſome cauſe of doubt, touching the manner of the liberty, in what ſort the ſame is to be performed, whether to be continued here within the realm, or to be reſtored into her own country.

But firſt, this propoſition, before the particularities be weighed, is to be conſidered in generality.

For it is very hard for a well-affected ſubject, and tendereth her majeſty's ſurety, and weigheth either the nature of the Scottiſh queen being inclined to ambition

and revenge, or her former actions, what practices she hath set on foot most dangerous for her majesty and this realm, to allow of her liberty, being not made acquainted with such causes, as time hath wrought, to make it less perilous than it hath been, nor with such cautions as may, in some sort, be devised to prevent both her ambition and malice; and therefore, to make this apparent.

It is to be considered, that the danger that was in the mother, is now grown to be in the son. He pretendeth the same title she doth: Such as do affect her, both at home and abroad, do affect him (and he is the more dangerous for that he is unmarried, which may greatly advance his fortune, and that he is a man, whereby he may enter into action in his own person); where she is restrained, he is at liberty; his own realm is now altogether at his devotion, and the party affected to this crown abased; so as the matter duly considered, neither her liberty nor restraint doth greatly alter the case for perils towards her majesty, unless by such promises as may be made by way of treaty with her, the danger likely to grow from the king her son to be provided for.

But in this behalf it may be objected, that so long as the mother remains in her majesty's hands, the king will attempt nothing for fear of his mother's peril.

To this objection it may be answered, first, That they hope that her majesty, being a prince of justice, and inclined to mercy, will not punish the mother for the son's offence, unless she shall be found, by good proof culpable. Secondarily, That men will not be over-hasty, considering in what predicament the king standeth touching his expectation of this crown, to advise any thing that in time future may be dangerous to the giver of such council as may reach to his mother's peril.

And lastly, the taking away of his mother, he being strong in the field through both foreign assistance, and a party here within the realm, will appear so weak a remedy, (which may rather exasperate both him, and her party, to proceed with more courage and heat to revenge, if any such hard measure should be offered unto her), as they will suppose for the reason above specified, that no such extremity will be used.

It may alſo be objected, that the ſetting of her at liberty will greatly encourage the papiſts both at home and abroad; but herein, if the proviſion be duly conſidered, that may be made by parliament both here and there, they ſhall rather find cauſe of diſcomfort than otherwiſe.

Theſe two doubts being reſolved, and the perils that was in the mother appearing moſt manifeſtly to be ſeen in the ſon accompanied with more danger, with due conſideration had alſo of ſuch remedies as may be provided for the preventing of the dangers, that her liberty may miniſter juſt cauſe to doubt of; there will be good cauſe of hope found, that the ſame will rather breed benefit than perils.

Now it reſteth, in what ſort the ſaid liberty ſhall be performed; if it ſhall be thought meet ſhe ſhall be continued within the realm with ſome limitation, eſpecially in that place where ſhe now reſideth, the country round about being ſo infeſted in religion as it is, it is greatly to be doubted that will very much increaſe the corruption, and falling away in that behalf. Beſides, ſhe ſhould have commodity, with much more eaſe and ſpeed, to entertain practices within this realm, than by being in her own country.

If abroad freely without limitation either in Scotland or France, then ſhall her majeſty loſe the gages of her ſafety, then ſhall ſhe be at hand to give advice in furtherance of ſuch practices, as have been laid for to ſtir trouble in this realm, wherein ſhe hath been a principal party.

For the firſt, it is anſwered before, that the reſpect of any perils that may befal unto her, will in no ſort reſtrain her ſon. For the other, if it be conſidered what harm her advice will work unto herſelf, in reſpect of the violation of the treaty, and the proviſion that may be made in parliament here, it is to be thought, that ſhe will then be well adviſed, before ſhe attempt any ſuch matter, which now ſhe may do without peril. Beſides ſuch princes, as have interpoſed their faith and promiſe for her, cannot with honour aſſiſt her, wherein the French king will not be found very forward, who, in

moſt friendly ſort, hath lately rejected all ſuch requeſts, propounded either by her or her ſon's miniſters, that might any way offend her majeſty. And ſo to conclude, ſeeing the cauſe of her grief ſhall be taken away; the French king gratified, who is a mediator for her, and will miſlike, that by any Spaniſh practice, ſhe ſhould be drawn to violate her faith, that the reſt of the princes ſhall have no juſt cauſe of offence, but rather to think honourably of her majeſty, conſidering the Scottiſh queen's carriage towards her, which hath deſerved no way any ſuch favour; the noblemen of Scotland ſhall be reſtored, who will be a good ſtay of ſuch counſells as may tend to the troubling of this realm, eſpecially having ſo good a ground of warrant as the parliament to ſtand unto; the charges and perills which her practices might have bred to this realm ſhall be avoided; and laſtly, the hope of the papiſts ſhall be taken away, by ſuch good proviſions, as in both the realms may be made, whereby the perills that might fall into her majeſty's own perſon (a matter of all others to be weighed), ſhall be avoided, when by the change that may grow by any ſuch wicked and ungodly practice, they ſhall ſee their caſe no way relieved in point of religion.

Reaſons to induce her majeſty to proceed in the treaty under ſecretary Walſingham's hand.

(Cott. Lib. Cal. C. 8.)

THAT ſuch plots as have of late years been deviſed (tending to the raiſing of trouble within this realm) have grown from the Scots queen's miniſters, and favourers, not without her allowance and ſeeking: Or,

That the means uſed by the ſaid miniſters, to induce princes to give ear to the ſaid plots, is principally grounded upon ſome commiſeration had of their reſtraint.

That the ſtay, why the ſaid plots have not been put in execution, hath proceeded, for that the ſaid princes have, for the moſt part, been entertained with home and domeſtic troubles.

That it is greatly to be doubted, that now their realms begin to be quiet, that ſomewhat will be attempted in her favours by the ſaid princes.

That it is alſo to be doubted, that ſomewhat may be attempted by ſome of her fautors in an extraordinary ſort, to the perill of her majeſty.

That for the preſervation thereof, it ſhall be convenient for her majeſty to procceed to the finiſhing of the treaty, not long ſithence begun between her and the ſaid queen.

No. XII. (p. 158, vol. 2.)

Letter of Q. Mary to Q. Elizabeth.

(Cott. Lib. Coll. B. VIII. Fol. 147. An original.)

Madame ma bonne Seur,

M'Aſſeurant que vous avez en communication d'une lettre de Gray que voſtre homme Semer me livra hier ſoubz le nom de mon filz y recognoiſſant quaſi de mot a la mot leſs meſmes raiſons que le dit Gray m'eſcrivit en chifre eſtant dernierement pres de vous deſmontrant la ſuffiſance & bonne intention du perſonage je vous prieray ſeulement ſuivant ce que ſi devant je vous ay tant inſtantement importune que vous me permettiez deſclaircir librement & ouvertement ce point de l'aſſociation d'entre moy & mon filz & me deffier les mains pour proceder avec lui comme je jugeray eſtre requis pour ſon bien & le mien. Et j'enterprendz quoi que l'on vous die & puiſſe en rapporter de faire mentir ce petit bruillon qui perſuade par aucuns de vos miniſtres a enterpris cette ſeparation entre moy et mon enfant, & pour y commencer je vous ſupplie m'octroyer qui je puiſſe parler a ce juſtice clerk qui vous a eſte nouvellement envoye pour mander par luy a mon filz mon intention ſur cela, ce qui je me promis que ne ma refuſerez quant ce ne ſeroit que pour demontrer en effect la bonne intention que vos m'avez aſſueree avoir a l'accord & entretien de naturel devoir entre la mere & l'enfant qui dit en bonnes termes eſtre empeſche pour vous me tenant captive en un deſert ce que vous ne pourrez mieux deſmentir & faire paroitre voſtre bon deſir a notre union que me donnant les moyens d'y proceder, & non m'en retenir & empeſcher comme aucune de vos miniſtres pretendent a fin de laiſſer toujours lieu a leur mauvais & miniſtres practiques entre nous. La lettre porte que l'aſ-

ſociation n'eſt pas paſſee, auſſi ne luy ai je jamais dit, bienque mon filz avoit accepte; & que nous en avions convenu enſemble, comme l'acte ſigne de ſa main, & ces lettres tant a moy, que en France en font foy, ayant donne ce meme temoignage de ſa bouche propre a pluſieurs ambaſſadeurs & perſonnes de credit, s'excuſant de ne l'oſer faire publier par craint de vous ſeulement, demandant forces pour vous reſiſter d'avant de ce declarer ſi ouvertement eſtant journellement perſuade au contraire par vos miniſtres qui luy prometoyent avecque une entreire a Yorck le faire declarer votre heretier. Au ſurplus Madame, quand mon enſant ſeroit ſi malheureux que de s'opiniaſtrer en cette extreme impiete & ingratitude vers moy, je ne puis penſer que vous non plus qu'aucun aultre prince de la Chretiente le vouliſſiez eu cela applaudir ou meintenir pour luy fayre acquerir ma malediction ains que plutos *introviendrez* pour luy faire recongnoitre la raiſon trop juſte & evidant devant Dieu & les hommes. Helas & encores ne luy vouloier j'en ofter, mays donner avec droit ce qu'il tient par uſurpation. Je me ſuis du tout commiſe a vous, & fidelement faites ſi il vous pleſt que je ne en ſoye pis qu'aupravant, & que le faulſete des uns ne prevale deſvant la verité vers vous, pour bien recevant mal, & la plus grande affliction que me ſçaurroit arriver a ſçavoir la perte de mon fils. Je vous ſupplie de me mander en cas qu'il perſiſte en cette m'eſconnoiſſance de ſon devoir, que de le luy ou de moy il vous plaiſt advouer pour legitime roy ou royne d'Ecoſſe, & ſi vous aves agreable de pourſuivre avec moy a part la traité commencé entre nous de quoy je vous requiers ſans plus attendre de reſponſe de ce mal gouverné enfant vous en requerrant avec autant d'affection que je ſens mon cœur oppreſſé d'ennuy. Pour Dieu ſouvenez vous de la promeſſe que m'avez faites de me prendre en votre protection me raportant de tout a vous, & ſur ce prian. Dieu qu'il vous viueille preſerver de touts vos ennemys et diſſimulez amys, comme je le deſire de me conſoler & de me venger de ceulz qui pourchaſſent un tel malheur entre la mere & l'enfant le ceſſeray de vous troubler, mais non a m'ennuier que je ne reçoive quelque conſolation de

vous & de Dieu encore un coup je le ſupplie de vous garder de tout peril. Futhbery XII Mars.

Votre fidelement vouce ſœur,
& obeiſſant couſine,
MARIE Q.

A la reyne d'Angleterre
madame ma bonne ſœur &
couſine.

No. XIII. (p. 159, vol. 2.)

A Teſtament by Q. Mary.

(Cot. Lib. Veſpaſ. L. 16. p. 415.)

N. B. The following paper was tranſcribed by the revd. Mr. Crawford, late regius profeſſor of church hiſtory in the univerſity of Edinburgh. Part of this paper, according to him, is written by Naué Mary's ſecretary, the reſt with the queen's own hand. What is marked is in the queen's hand.

CONSIDERANT par ma condition preſente l'eſtat de vie humaine, ſi incertain, que perſonne ne s'en pueſt, ou doibt aſſeurer, ſinnon ſoubs la grande et infinie miſericorde de Dieu. Et me voulant prevaloir d'icelle contre tous les dangers et accidens, qui me pourroient inopinement ſurvenir en cette captivité, meſmes a cauſe des grandes et longues maladies, ou j'ay eté detenué juſques a preſent j'ay adviſé tandis que j'ay la commodite ou raiſon en jugement, de pourvoir apres ma mort la ſalut de mon ame, enterrement de mon corps et diſpoſition de mon bien, eſtat, & affaires, par ce preſent mon teſtament et ordonnance de mon dernier volunté, qui s'enſuyt.

Au nom du Pere, du Filz, et du benoite St. Eſprit. Premierement, me recongnoiſſant indigne pechereſſe avec plus d'offences envers mon Dieu, que de ſatisfaction par toutes les adverſités que j'ay ſouffert; dont je la loue ſa bonté. Et m'appuyant ſur la croix de mon Sauveur et Redempteur Jeſus Chriſt. Je recommende mon ame a la benoiſte et individue Trinité et aux prieres de la glorieuſe Vierge Marie, et de tous les anges ſainctz & ſainctes de paradis, eſperant par leur merites et interceſſion, eſtre aydeé a obtenir de eſtre faicte participante avec eulx de felicité eternelle. Et pour m'y ache-

miner de cueur plus net et entier despouillant des a present tout ressentiement des injures, calomnies, rebellions, et aultres offenses, qui me pourroient avoir est factes durant ma vie, par mes subjets rebelles et aultres ennemis; J'en retriet la vengeance a Dieu, & le supplie leur pardonner, de mesme affection, que je luy requiers pardons a mes faultes, et a tous ceuls et celles que je puis avoir offensé de faicts ou de parolles. Je veulx et ordonne, &c.

Pour ne contrevenir a la glorie, honneur, et conversation de l'Eglise catholique, apostolique et Romaine, en la quelle je veulx vivre et mourir, si le prince d'Escosse mon filz y pueſt etre reduiet contre la mauvaise nourriture, qu'il a prise a mon tres grand regret en l'heresie de Calvin entre mes rebelles, je le laisse seul et unique heritier de mon royaume d'Escosse, de droict que je pretende justement en a la couronne d'Angleterre et pays qui en dependent, et generallement de tous et chacun mes meubles et immeubles qui resteront apres ma mort, et excution de ce present testament.

Si non, et que mon dit filz continue a vivre en la dite heresie Je cede, transporte, et faicte don " de touts et " chacuns mes droicts, que je pretende et puis pretendre a la couronne d'Angleterre, et aultres droicts, " seigneuries, ou royaulmes en dependantz, au roy catholique, ou aultre de siens qu'il luy plaira, avesques " advis, consentement de sa saincteté: tant pour le voyr " aujourhuy le seul seurs appui de la religion catholique, que pour reconnoissance de gratuites faveurs que " moy, et les miens recommandez par moy, ont avons " receu de luy en ma plus grande necessité; et resguard " aussi au droict que luy mesme, peut pretendre a ces " ditz royaulmes et pays, je le supplie qu'en recompence " il preign alliance, de la maison de Lorraine, et si il " ce pleut de celle de Guisse, pour memoire de la race " de laquelle je juis sortie au coste Mere, n'a ayant de " celuy de mon pere, que mon seul enfant, lequel e- " stant Catholique j'ay tousjours voué pour une des ses " filles, si il luy plaisoit de l'accepter, ou faillant une " de ses nieces mariee comme sa fille.

" Je laysse mon filz a la protection du roy, de prince,

" et dues de Lorrayne et de Guiſe, et du Mayne, aux " quelz je recommende et ſon eſtate en Eſcoſſe, et mon " droict en Angleterre, ſi il eſt catholique, et quelle le " parlie de ceſte royne." Je faitz don au " compté de Lenox" de comte de Lennox tenu par feu ſon pere, et commande mon filtz, comme mon heretier et ſucceſſeur, d'obeyr en ceſt en droit a mon volonté.

Je veulx et ordonne toutes les ſommes et deniers, qui ſe troveront par moys deues, tien mis cauſe de droict eſtre faits " a Lohliven" etre promptement payée et acquittés, et tout tort et griefs reparés per leſdits executeurs deſquelz j'en charge la conſcience. Oultre, &c. *(Follow two or three paragraphs concerning particular legacies, and then is added)* Faict au manior de Sheffeld en Angleterre le jour de —— Mil cinq cens ſoixant & dix ſept.

" Si mon filz meurt, au comte de Lenox, au Claude " Hamilton lequel ſe montrera le plus fidelle vers moy, " et plus conſtant en religion, au jugement de —— " Dues de Lorraine et de Guyſe, ou je le rapport ſur " ce de ceulx a que j'auray donnay le charge de trayter " aveſque eux de par moy et ceulx, a condition de ce " marrier ou allier en la dite mayſon ou par leur advis."

Follow near two pages of particular legacies.

" Et le remets ma tante de Lenox au droict quelle " peut pretendre a la conté d'Angous avant l'acort " fait par mon commandement entre ma dite tante de " Lenox et le comte de Morton, veu quil a eſté fait & " par le feu roy mon Mary et moy, ſur la promeſſe de " ſa fidelle aſſiſtance, ſi luy et moy encourions dangier " et beſoing d'ayde ce qu'il rompit, s'entendant ſecrete- " ment au les nos ennemis rebelles, qu'attemtprient " contre ſa vie, et pour ceſt effect pris les armes, et ont " porté les bannieres deſploiees, contre nous, je revoque " auſſi toute autre don que je luy ay fait de conté de " Morton ſur promeſſes de ſes bons ſervices a advenir, " et entends que la dite Conté ſoit reunie a la couronne, " ſi ell ſe trouve y partenir, comme ſes trahiſons tant " en la mort de mon feu Mary, que en mon baniſſe- " ment, et pourſuit de la mien ne l'ont merité. Et de- " fends a mon filz de ce jamays ſervire de luy pour de " luy pour la hayne qu'il aye a ſes parents, la quelle je

" crains ne s'eſtende juſques a luy, le connoiſſant du " tout affectionné aux ennemis de mon droite en ce " royaume, du quel il eſt penconnaire.

" Je recommende mon nepveu Francois Stuart a " mon filz, et luy commande detenir pres de luy et " s'enſervit, et je luy laiſſe le bien du conte de Boduel " ſon ocle, en reſpect qu'il eſt de mong ſang, mon fil- " leul, et ma eſté laiſſe en lutelle par ſon pere.

" Je declare que mon frere baſtard Robert Abbé de " St Croix n'a en que par circonvention Orkenay, et " que le ne ſut jamays mon intention, comme il apret " par la revocation que j'ay fate depuys, et eté auſſi " faite d'avant la aſage de xxv. ans, ce que j'amois de- " liberer ſi il ne m'euſſent prenner par priſon de ſe de " deſayre aulx eſtats je veulx donc que Orkenay ſoit " reune a la couronne comme une de plus neceſſaires " pour mon filz, & ſans mayſon ne pourra etre bien tenue.

" Le filles de Morra ne parvient acceſſi heriter, ains " revient la conté a la Couronne, ſi il luy pleſt luy don- " ner ſa ou fille en marriaſge, et il nome " l'en ſienne ligne."

No. XIV. (p. 167, vol. 2.)

A letter from Mr Archibald Douglas to the queen of Scots.

PLEASE your majeſty, I received your letter of the date of the 12th of Nov. and in like manner has ſeen ſome part of the contents of one other of the ſame date, directed to Monſr. de Moviſir, ambaſſador for his majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king, both which are agreeable to your princely dignity, as by the one your highneſs deſires to know the true cauſe of my baniſhment, and offers unto me all favour if I ſhould be innocent of the heinous facts committed in the perſon of your huſband of good memory, ſo by the other the ſaid ambaſſador is willed to declare unto me, if your huſband's murder could be laid juſtly againſt me, that you could not ſollicit in my cauſe, neither yet for any perſon that was participant of that execrable fact, but would ſeek the revenge thereof, when you ſhould have any means to do it; your majeſty's offer, if I be innocent of that crime, is moſt favourable, and your deſire to know the

truth of the ſame is moſt equitable; and therefore that I ſhould with all my ſimplicity, ſincerity and truth anſwer thereunto is moſt reaſonable, to the end that your princely dignity may be my help, if my innocence ſhall ſufficiently appear, and procure my condemnation, if I be culpable in any matter, except in the knowledge of the evil diſpoſed minds of the moſt part of your nobility againſt your ſaid huſband, and not revealing of it; which I am aſſured was ſufficiently known to himſelf, and to all that had judgment never ſo little in that realm; which alſo I was conſtrained to underſtand, as he, that was ſpecially employed betwixt the earl Morton, and a good number of your nobility, that they might with all humility intercede at your majeſty's hand for his relief, in ſuch matters as are more ſpecially contained in the declaration following, which I am conſtrained for my own juſtification, by this letter to call to your majeſty's remembrance. Notwithſtanding that I am aſſured, to my grief, the reading thereof will not ſmally offend your princely mind. It may pleaſe your majeſty to remember, that in the year of God 1566, the ſaid of earl of Morton, with divers other nobility and gent. were declared rebels to your majeſty, and baniſhed your realm for inſolent murder committed in your majeſty's own chamber, which they alledged was done by command of your huſband, who notwithſtanding affirmed that he was compelled by them to ſubſcribe the warrant given for that effect, howſoever the truth of that matter remains amongſt them, it appertains not to me at this time to be curious; true it is that I was one of that number, that heavily offended againſt your majeſty, and paſſed into France the time of our baniſhment, at the deſire of the reſt, to humbly pray your brother the moſt Chriſtian king to intercede that our offences might be pardoned, and your majeſty's clemency extended towards us, albeit divers of no ſmall reputation, in that realm, was of the opinion, that the ſaid fact merited neither to be requiſite for, nor yet pardoned. Always ſuch was the careful mind of his majeſty towards the quietneſs of that realm, that the dealing in that cauſe was committed to Monſr. de Moviſir, who

was directed at that time to go into Scotland, to congratulate the happy birth of your ſon, whom Almighty God of his goodneſs may long preſerve in happy eſtate and perpetual felicity; the careful travail of the ſaid de Moviſir was ſo effectual, and your majeſty's mind ſo inclined to mercy, that within ſhort ſpace thereafter I was permitted to repair in Scotland, to deal with earls Murray, Athol, Bodvel, Arguile, and ſecretary Ledington, in the name and behalf of the ſaid earl Morton, lords Reven, Lindſay, and remanent compleſis, that they might make offer in the names of the ſaid earl, of any matter that might ſatisfie your majeſty's wrath, and procure your clemency to be extended in their favours; at my coming to them, after I had opened the effect of my meſſage, they declared that the marriage betwixt you and your huſband had been the occaſion already of great evil in that realm, and if your huſband ſhould be ſuffered to follow the appetite and mind of ſuch as was about him, that kind of dealing might produce with time worſe effects; for helping of ſuch inconvenience that might fall out by that kind of dealing, they had thought convenient to join themſelves in league and band with ſome other noblemen, reſolved to obey your majeſty as their natural ſovereign, and have nothing to do with your huſband's command whatſoever, if the ſaid earl would for himſelf enter into that band and confederacy with them, they could be content to humbly requeſt and travail by all means with your majeſty for his pardon, but before they could any farther proceed, they deſired to know the ſaid earl's mind herein; when I had anſwered, that he nor his friends, at my departure, could not know that any ſuch like matter would be proponit, and therefore was not inſtructed what to anſwer therein, they deſired that I ſhould return ſufficiently inſtructed in this matter to Sterling, before the baptiſm of your ſon, whom God might preſerve; this meſſage was faithfully delivered to me at Newcaſtle in England, where the ſaid earl then remained, in preſence of his friends and company, where they all condeſcended to have no farther dealing with your huſ-

band, and to enter into the ſaid band. With this deliberation I returned to Sterling, where at the requeſt of the moſt Chriſtian king and the queen's majeſty of England by their ambaſſadors preſent, your majeſty's gracious pardon was granted unto them all, under condition always that they ſhould remain baniſhed forth of the realm, the ſpace of two years, and farther during your majeſty's pleaſure, which limitation was after mitigated at the humble requeſt of your own nobility, ſo that immediately after the ſaid earl of Morton repaired into Scotland to Quhittingaime, where the earl of Bodvell and ſecretary Ledington come to him; what ſpeech paſſed there amongſt them, as God ſhall be my judge, I knew nothing at that time, but at their departure I was requeſted by the ſaid earl Morton to accompany the earl Bodvell and ſecretary to Edenburgh, and to return with ſuch anſwer as they ſhould obtain of your majeſty, which being given unto me by the ſaid perſons, as God ſhall be my judge, was no other than theſe words, "Schaw "to the earl Morton that the queen will hear no ſpeech "of that matter appointed unto him;" when I craft that the anſwer might be made more ſenſible, ſecretary Ledington ſaid, that the earl would ſufficiently underſtand it, albeit few or none at that time underſtand what paſſed amongſt them. It is known to all men, als veill be railling letters paſſed betwixt the ſaid earl and Ledington when they become in divers factions, as alſo ane buck ſet furth it by the miniſters wherein they affirm that the earl of Morton has confeſſed to them, before his death, that the earl Bodvel came to Quhittingaime to prepon the calling away off the king your huſband, to the which propoſition the ſaid earl of Morton affirms that he could give no anſwer unto ſuch time he might know your majeſty's mind therein, which he never received. As to the abominable murder, it is known too by the depoſitions of many perſons that were executed to the death for the committing thereof, that the ſame was executed them, and at the command of ſuch of the nobility, as had ſubſcrivit band for that effect; by this unpleaſant declaration, the moſt part thereof known to yourſelf, and the remainder may be under-

ſtood by the aforeſaid witneſſes that was examined in torture, and that are extant in the cuſtody of the ordinary judges in Scotland, my innocency, ſo far as may concern any fact, does appear ſufficiently to your majeſty. And as for my dealing aforeſaid, I can be no otherwiſe charged therein, but as what would accuſe the veſſel that preſerves the wine from harm, for the intemperancy of ſuch as immoderately uſe the ſame. As for the ſpecial cauſe of my baniſhment, I think the ſame has proceeded upon ane opinion conceived, that I was able to accuſe the earl of Morton of ſo much matter as they alledge himſelf to have confeſſed before he died, and would not be induced, for loſs of reputation, to perform any part thereof. If this be the occaſion of my trouble, as I ſuppoſe it is, what puniſhment I ſhould deſerve, I remit me to your majeſty's better judgment, who well knows how careful ever ilk gentleman ſhould be of his fame, reputation and honour, and how far ever ilk man ſhould abhor the name of a pultroun, and how undecent it would have been to me to accuſe the earl of Morton, being ſo near of his kin, notwithſtanding all the injuries I was conſtrained to receive at his hand all the time of his government, and for no other cauſe, but for ſhewing of particular friendſhip to particular friends in the time of the laſt cruel troubles in Scotland. Sorry I be now to accuſe him in any matter being dead, and more ſorry that being on lyff, be ſuch kind of dealing obtained that name of ingrate. Always for my own part I have been baniſhed my native country thoſe three years and four months, living in anxiety of mind, my holl guds in Scotland, which were not ſmall, intermitit, and depoſit upon, and has continually ſince the time I was relieved out of my laſt troubles at the deſire of Monſr. de Moviſir, attended to know your majeſty's pleaſure, and to wait upon what ſervice it ſhould pleaſe your majeſty for to command. Upon the 8th of April inſt. your good friend ſecretary Walſinghame has declared unto me, that her highneſs tho't it expedient that I ſhould retire myſelf where I pleaſed, I declared unto him I had no means whereby I might perform that deſire, till ſuch time as I ſhould receive it from your ma-

jeſty. Neither knew I where it would pleaſe your highneſs to direct me, until ſuch time as I ſhould have received further information from you. Upon this occaſion, and partly by permiſſion, I have taken the hardreſs to write this preſent letter, whereby your majeſty may underſtand any part of my troubles paſt, and ſtrait preſent. As to my intention future, I will never deny that I am fully reſolved to ſpend the reſt of my days in your majeſty's ſervice, and the king your ſon's, whereſoever I ſhall be directed by your majeſty, and for the better performing thereof, if ſo ſhall be her majeſty's pleaſure, to recommend the tryall of my innocency, and examination of the verity of the preceding narration, to the king your ſon, with requeſt that I may be pardoned for ſuch offences as concerned your majeſty's ſervice and var common to all men the time of his les aige and perdonit to all, except to me, I ſhould be the bearer thereof myſelf, and be directed in whatſoever ſervice it ſhould pleaſe your majeſty for to command. Moſt humble I beſeech your majeſty to conſider hereof, and to be ſo gracious as to give order, that I may have means to ſerve your majeſty according to the ſincerity of my meaning, and ſo expecting your majeſty's anſwer, after kiſſing your hand with all humility I take leave from London.

No. XV. (p. 173, vol. 2.)

A letter from Sir Amias Paulet.

I DID forbear according to your direction ſignified in your letters of the fourth of this preſent, to proceed to the execution of the contents of Mr Waade's letters unto you, for the diſperſing of this lady's unneceſſary ſervants, and for the ſeaſing of her money, wherein I was bold to write unto you my ſimple opinion, (although in vain as it now falleth out), by my letters of the 7th of this inſtant, which I doubt not are with you before this time; but upon the receipt of your letters of the 5th, which came not unto my hands until the 8th in the evening, by reaſon, as did appear by indorſement, that they had been miſtaken, and were ſent back to Windſor, after they were entered into the way towards me, I conſidered, that being accompanied only by my own ſervants, it might be thought that they would be

intreated to say as I would command them, and therefore I thought good, for my better discharge in these money matters, to crave the assistance of Mr. Richard Baggot, who repairing unto me the next morning, we had access to this queen, whom we found in her bed, troubled after the old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands, unto whom I declared, that upon occasion of her former practises, doubting lest she would persist therein by corrupting underhand some bad members of this state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to rest answerable for it, when it shall be required; advising her to deliver the said money unto me with quietness. After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you, (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with a flat affirmation that her majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have, refusing to deliver the key of the cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for barrs to break open the door, whereupon she yielded, and causing the door to be opened, I found there in the coffers, mentioned in Mr. Waade's remembrance, five rolls of canvas, containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, whereof the one had, in gold, one hundred and four pounds two shillings, and the other had three pounds in silver, which bag of silver was left with her, affirming that she had no more money in this house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Waade's note maketh mention of three rolls left in Curle's† chamber, wherein, no doubt, he was misreckoned, which is evident as well by the testimonies and oaths of divers persons, as also by probable conjectures; so as in truth we found only two rolls, every of which containeth one thousand crowns, which was this queen's guifte to Curle's wife at her marriage. There is found in Naw's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain worth by estimation, one hundred pounds, and in money, in one bag nine hundred pounds, in a second bag two hundred

† Curle can tell you the truth of this matter.

fourſcore and ſix pounds eighteen ſhillings. All the foreſaid parcels of money are beſtowed in bags and ſealed by Mr. Richard Bagot, ſaving five hundred pounds of Naw's money, which I reſerve in my hands, for the uſe of this houſhold, and may be repayed at London, where her majeſty ſhall appoint, out of the money, received lately by one of my ſervants, out of the Exchequer. I feared leſt the people might have diſperſed this money in all this time, or have hidden the ſame in ſome ſecret corners; for doubt whereof I had cauſed all this queen's family, from the higheſt to the loweſt, to be guarded in the ſeveral places where I found them, ſo as yff I had not found the money with quietneſs, I had been forced to have ſearch firſt all their lodgings, and then their own perſons. I thank God with all my heart, as for a ſingular bleſſing, that that falleth out ſo well, fearing leſt a contrary ſucceſs might have moved ſome hard conceits in her majeſty.

Touching the diſperſing of this queen's ſervants, I truſt I have done ſo much, as may ſuffice to ſatisfy her majeſty for the time, wherein I could not take any abſolute courſe, until I heard again from you, partly becauſe her majeſty, by Mr. Waade's letter, doth refer to your conſideration to return ſuch as ſhall be diſcharged to their ſeveral dwellings and countries, wherein, as it ſeemeth, you have forgotten to deliver your opinion; partly, for that as yet, I have received no anſwer from you, of your reſolution, upon the view of the Scottiſh family ſent unto you, what perſons you will appoint to be diſmiſt; only this I have done, I have beſtowed all ſuch as are mentioned in this bill incloſed in three or four ſeveral rooms as the ſame may ſuffice to contain them, and that their meat and drink ſhall be brought unto them by my ſervants. It may pleaſe you, to advertiſe me by your next letters, in what ſort, and for what courſe, I ſhall make their paſſports, as alſo, if they ſhall ſay that they are unpaid of their wages, what ſhall I do therein. Yet is ſaid that they have been accuſtomed to be paid of their wages at Chriſtmas, for the whole year. Her majeſty's charge will be ſomewhat diminiſhed by the departure of this people, and my charge by

this occaſion will be the more eaſy.† But the perſons, all ſave Baſtian, are ſuch ſilly and ſimple ſouls, as there was no great cauſe to fear their practices, and upon this ground, I was of opinion, in my former letters, that all this diſmiſſed train ſhould have followed their miſtreſs until the next remove, and there to have been diſcharged upon the ſudden, for doubt that ſaid remove might be delayed, yf ſhe did fear, or expect any hard meaſure.

Others ſhall excuſe their fooliſh pity as they may; but for my part, I renounce my part of the joys of heaven, yf in any thing that I have ſaid, written, or done, I have had any other reſpect than the furtherance of her majeſty's ſervice; and ſo I ſhall moſt earneſtly pray you to affirm for me, as likewiſe for the not ſeaſing of the money by Mr. Manners, the other commiſſioners, and myſelf. I truſt Mr. Waade hath anſwered, in all humble duties, for the whole company, that no one of us did ſo much as think that our commiſſion reaching only to the papers, we might be bold to touch the money, ſo as there was no ſpeech of that all to my knowledge, and as you know I was no commiſſioner in this ſearch, but had my hands full at Tyxall, diſcreet ſervants are not haſtily to deal in great matters, without warrant, and eſpeciall where the cauſe is ſuch as the delay of it carried no danger.

Your advertiſement of that happy remove hath been greatly comfortable unto me. I will not ſay, in reſpect of myſelf, becauſe my private intereſt hath no meaſure of compariſon with her majeſty's ſafety, and with the quiet of this realm. God grant a happy and ſpeedy yſſue to theſe good and godly councels; and ſo I commit you to his merciful protection. From Chartley the 10th of September 1586.

No. XVI. (p. 183, vol. 2.)

Letter from the king of Scots to Mr. Archibald Douglas his ambaſſador in England, October, 1586.

RESERVE up yourſelf na langer in the earneſt dealing for my mother, for ye have done it too long; and

† This lady hath good ſtore of money at preſent in the French ambaſſador's hands.

think not that any your travellis can do goode if hir life be taken, for then adieu with my dealing with theime that are the ſpecial inſtruments thairof; and theirfore, gif ye look for the continuance of my favour towartis you, ſpair na pains nor plainnes in this cace, but redde my letter wrettin to William Keith, and conform yourſelf quhollie to the contentis thairof, and in this requeiſt let me reap the fruicts of your great credit there, ather now or never. Fairwell. October, 1586.

Letter to ſir William Keith, ambaſſador in England, probably from ſecretary Maitland. Nov. 27, 1568.

BY your letters ſent by this bearer (albeit concerning no pleaſant ſubject), his majeſty conceives well of your earneſtneſs and fidelity in your negotiations, as alſo of Mr. Archibald's activity and diligence, whom you ſo greatly praiſe and recommend. I wiſh the iſſue correſpond to his majeſty's opinion, your care and travell, and his great diligence as you write. His majeſty takes this rigorous proceeding againſt his mother deeply in heart, as a matter greatly concerning him both in honour and otherwiſe. His highneſſes actions and behaviour utter plainly not only how far nature prevails, but alſo how he apprehends of the ſequel of that proceſs, and of what moment he eſteems it. There is an embaſſe ſhortly to be directed, wherein will be employed an earl and two counſellors, on whoſe anſwer will depend the continuance or diſſolution of the amity and good intelligence between the princes of this iſle. In the mean ſeaſon, if farther extremity be uſed, and his majeſty's ſuit and requeſt diſdained, his highneſs will think himſelf diſhonoured and contemned far beſides his expectation and deſerts. Ye may perceive his majeſty's diſpoſition by his letter to you, which you ſhall impart to Mr. Archibald, and both deal according thereto. I need not recommend to your care, concerning your maſter's ſervice both in weill and in honour. As you and your colleague ſhall behave yourſelf in this behalf, ſo for my own part, will I interpret your affection to your maſter. I am glad of that I hear of yourſelf, and I do fully credit that you write of Mr.

Archibald, whoſe friends here make great account of his profeſſed devotion to the queen, beſides the duty he owes to the king's majeſty her ſon. Farther I am conſtrained to remit to next occaſion, having ſcarce time to ſcribble theſe few lines (which of themſelves may bear witneſs of my haſte.) Wiſhing you a proſperous iſſue of your negociation, I commit you, &c.

The people, and all eſtates here are ſo far moved by the rigorous proceedings againſt the queen, that his majeſty, and all that have credit are importuned, and may go abroad for exclamations againſt them, and imprecations againſt the queen of England.

No. XVII. (p 186, vol. 2.)

To the king's majeſty, from Mr. Archibald Douglas.

PLEASE your majeſty, I received your letter of the date of the 28th of September, the 5th of October, which was the ſame day that I directed Wm. Murray towards your highneſs; by ſuch letters as he carried, and others of ſeveral dates, your majeſty may perceive that I had omitted nothing ſo far as my travel might reach unto, anent the performing of the two chief points contained in the ſaid letter befor the receit thereof, which by theſe preſents I muſt repeat for anſwering of the ſaids. As to the firſt, ſo far as may concern the interceding for the queen your majeſty's mother her life, I have divers times, and in every audience, travelled with this queen in that matter, ſpecially to know what her full determination muſt be in that point, and could never bring her to any further anſwer, but that this proceeding againſt her by order of juſtice was no leſs againſt her mind, than againſt their will that loved her beſt; as towards her life ſhe could give no anſwer thereunto, until ſuch time as the law hath declared whether ſhe was innocent or guilty. Herewithal it was her pleaſure thus far to inform me, that it was a number of the aſſociates that earneſtly preſſed her that the law might proceed againſt her, giving reaſons that ſo long as ſhe was ſuffered to deal in matters, ſo long would never this realm be in quiet, neither her life, neither this ſtate in aſſurance, and in the end they uſed this pre-

teſtation, that if ſhe would not in this matter follow their advice, that they ſhould remain with all the blame whatſoever ſhould fall out; whereupon ſhe had granted them liberty to proceed, leſt ſuch as had made the requeſt might hereafter have charged herſelf with inconvenience if any ſhould happen.

And by myſelf I know this her ſpeech to be true, becauſe both papiſt and proteſtant has behaved them, as it hath been her pleaſure to declare, but upon divers reſpects, the one to avoid ſuſpicion that otherwiſe was conceived againſt them, the other upon zeal and care that they will be known to have for preſervation of their ſovereign's life and ſtate in this perilous time, upon conſideration whereof, I have been conſtrained to enter into ſome dealing with both, wherewith I made her majeſty acquainted; the proteſtants, and ſuch as in other matters will be known to bear no ſmall favour unto your majeſty's ſervice, hath prayed that they may be excuſed from any dealing in the contrary of that, which by their oath they have avowed, and by their ſpeech to their ſovereign requeſted for, and that before my coming in this country; if they ſhould now otherwiſe do, it would produce no better effect but to make them ſubject to the accuſation of their ſovereign, when it ſhould pleaſe her to do it, of their inconſtancy, in giving councell whereby they might incur the danger of ill councellors, and be conſequent worthy of puniſhment. Such of the papiſts, as I did deal with, went immediately, and told her majeſty what I had ſpoken to them, who albeit ſhe underſtood the matter of before, ſent for me and declared to me my own ſpeech that I had uttered to them, willing me for the weil of my maiſter's ſervice to abſtain from dealing with ſuch, as were not yet ſufficiently moved to think of my matter as ſhe did. I craved leave of her majeſty, that I might inform them of your majeſty's late behaviour towards her, and the ſtate of this realm, whereunto with ſome difficulty ſhe gave her conſent. At my late departure from court, which was upon the fifth of this inſtant, and the day after that the lords of this grand jury had taken their leaves of her majeſty to go

northward to Fothringham, it was her pleasure to promise to have further speech in this matter at the returning of the said lords, and to give full answer according to your majesty's contentment to the remainder matters, that I had proponit in name of your majesty. As to the 2d part concerning the association, and desire that the promise made to the master of Gray concerning your majesty's title may be fulfilled; it appears by the said letter, that the very point whereupon the question that may bring your majesty's title in doubt, hath not been rightly at the writing of the said letter considered, which I take to have proceeded for lack of reading of the act of parliament, wherein is fulfilled all the promise made by the queen to the said master, and nothing may now cause any doubt to arise against your said title, except that an opinion should be conceived by these lords of this parliament that are so vehement at this time against the queen your majesty's mother, that your majesty is, or may be proved hereafter assenting to her proceedings, and some that love your majesty's service were of that opinion that too earnest request might move a ground, whereupon suspicions might grow in men so ill affected in that matter, which I tho't might be helped by obtaining of a declaration in parliament of your majesty's innocence at this time, and by reason that good nature and public honesty would constrain you to intercede for the queen your mother, which would carry with itself without any further, some suspicion that might move ill affected men to doubt. In my former letters I humbly craved of your majesty that some learned men in the laws, might be moved to advise with the words of the association, and the mitigation contained in the act of parliament, and withall to advise what suspicious effects your majesty's request might work in these choleric men at this time, and how their minds might be best moved to receive reason; and upon all these considerations they might have formed the words of a declarator of your majesty's innocence to be obtained in this parliament, and failing thereof the very words of a protestation for the same effect that might best serve

for your majeſty's ſervice, and for my better information. Albeit this was my ſimple opinion, I ſhall be contented to follow any direction it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to give; I have already opened the ſubſtance hereof to the queen of this realm, who ſeems not to be offended herewith, and hath granted liberty to deal therein with ſuch of the parliament as may remain in any doubt of mind. This being the ſum of my proceedings in this matter, beſides the remainder, contained in other letters of ſeveral dates, I am conſtrained to lay the whole open before your majeſty, and to humbly pray that full information may be ſent unto me what further to do herein; in this middle time, while I ſhall receive more ample direction I ſhall proceed and be doing according to ſuch direction as I have already received. And ſo, moſt gracious ſovereign, wiſhing unto your majeſty all happy ſucceſs in your affairs, I humbly take my leave from London, 16th of Oct. this 1586.

A memorial for his majeſty by the maſter of Gray.

IT will pleaſe your majeſty, I have tho't meeter to ſet down all things as they occur, and all advertiſements as they come to my ears, then jointly in a letter.

I came to Vare the 24th of Decr. and ſent to Wm. Keith and Mr. Archibald Douglas to advertiſe the queen of it, lik as they did at their audience. She promiſed the queen your majeſty's mother's life ſhould be ſpared till we were heard. The 27th they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robt. came to Vare, where they ſhewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation, but for that the diſcourſe of it is ſent down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will teſtify unto your majeſty that Wm. Keith hath uſed himſelf right honeſtly and wiſely till our coming, reſpecting all circumſtances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your majeſty knows already.

The 29th of Decr. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honeſt ſort it has pleaſed your majeſty uſe her ambaſſadors, never man ſent to welcome or convey us. The ſame day we underſtood of Mr. de Bellievre his leave taking,

and for that the cuſtom permitted not we ſent our excuſes by Mr. George Young.

The 1ſt day of Janr. Wm. Keith and his colleague according to the cuſtom ſent to crave our audience. We received the anſwer contained in the general letter, and could not have anſwer till the 6th day, what was done that day your majeſty has it in the general, yet we was not out of eſperance at that time, albeit we received hard anſwers.

The 8th day we ſpeak with the earl of Leiceſter, where our conference was, as is ſet down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day ſaid plainly the detaining of the queen of Scotland priſoner was for that ſhe pretended a ſucceſſion to this crown. Judge then by this, what is tho't of your majeſty, as ye ſhall hear a little after.

The 9th day we ſpeak with the French ambaſſador, whom we found very plain in making to us a wiſe diſcourſe of all his proceedings, and Mr. de Bellievre we thanked him in your majeſty's name, and opened ſuch things as we had to treat with this queen, ſave the laſt point, as more largely ſet down by our general.

It is tho't here, and ſome friends of your majeſty's adviſed me, that Bellievre his negociation was not effectual, and that the reſident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true, for ſince Bellievre his perting, there is a talk of this Chaſteauneuf his ſervants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was ſending in France, for that they charge him with a conſpiracy of late againſt the queen here her life. It is alledged his ſervant has confeſſed the matter, but whom I ſhall truſt I know not, but till I ſee proof I ſhall account him an honeſt man, for indeed ſo he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very inſtant in this matter. I ſhew him that the queen and earl of Leiceſter had deſired to ſpeak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meeteſt, I ſhew him the reaſon why I communicate that to him, that for that I had been ſuſpected by ſome of her majeſty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her ſervice, that he ſhould be my witneſs that my earneſt dealing

in this ſhould be a ſufficient teſtimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naué who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices; he deſired me, ſeeing ſhe ſaw only with other folks eyes, that I ſhould no ways impute to her, for the like ſhe had done to himſelf by Naué his perſuaſion. I anſwered he ſhould be my witneſs in that.

The 9th day we ſent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day; at the firſt, ſhe ſaid a thing long looked for ſhould be welcome when it comes, I would now ſee your maſter's offers. I anſwered, no man makes offers but for ſome cauſe; we would, and like your majeſty, firſt to know the cauſe to be extant for which we offer, and likewiſe that it be extant till your majeſty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promiſe for an hour, but you think to ſhift in that ſort. I anſwered we mind not to ſhift, but to offer from our ſovereign all things that with reaſon may be; and in ſpecial, we offered as is ſet down in our general, all was refuſed and tho't nothing She called on the three that were in the houſe, the earl of Leiceſter, my lord admiral, and chamberlain, and very deſpitefully repeated all our offers in preſence of them all. I opened the laſt part, and ſaid, Madam, for what reſpect is it that men deal againſt your perſon or eſtate for her cauſe? She anſwered, becauſe they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed to me, and for that ſhe is a papiſt; appearingly ſaid I both the cauſes may be removed, ſhe ſaid ſhe would be glad to underſtand it. If, madam, ſaid I, all that ſhe has of right of ſucceſſion were in the king our ſovereign's perſon, were not all hope of papiſts removed? She anſwered, I hope ſo. Then, madam, I think the queen his mother ſhall willingly demit all her rights in his perſon. She anſwered, ſhe hath no right, for ſhe is declared unhabil. Then I ſaid, if ſhe have no right, appearingly the hope ceaſes already, ſo that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The queen anſwered, but the papiſts allow not our declaration; then let it fall, ſays I, in the king's perſon by her aſſignation. The earl of Leiceſter anſwered, ſhe is a priſoner, and how can ſhe demit? I anſwered the demiſſion is to her ſon, by the advice of all

the friends ſhe has in Europe, and in caſe, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the queen here away, who ſhall party with her to prove the demiſſion or aſſignation to be ineffectual, her ſon being oppoſite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his majeſty of before. The queen made as ſhe could not comprehend my meaning, and ſir Robt. opened the matter again, ſhe yet made as tho' ſhe underſtood not. So the earl of Leiceſter anſwered that our meaning was, that the king ſhould be put in his mother's place. Is it ſo, the queen anſwered, then I put myſelf in a worſe caſe than of before; by God's paſſion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a dutchy or an earldom to yourſelf you or ſuch as you would cauſe ſome of your deſperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he ſhall never be in that place. I anſwered, he craves nothing of your majeſty, but only of his mother. The earl of Leiceſter anſwered that were to make him party to the queen my miſtreſs. I ſaid, he will be far more party, if he be in her place thro' her death. She would ſtay no longer, but ſaid ſhe ſhould not have a worſe in his mother's place. And ſaid, tell your king what good I have done for him in holding the crown on his head ſince he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now ſtands between us, and if he break it ſhall be a double fault, and with this minded to have bidden us a farewell; but we achevit (i. e. finiſhed arguing upon this point.) And I ſpake craving of her that her life may be ſpared for 15 days; ſhe refuſed. Sir Robt. craved for only eight days, ſhe ſaid not for an hour; and ſo geid her way. Your majeſty ſees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for ſhe and her councel has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth, and I ſee it comes rather of her councel than herſelf, which I like the worſe; for without doubt, ſir, it ſhall cut off all friendſhip ye had here. Altho' it were that once they had meaned well to your majeſty, yet remembering themſelves, that they have medled with your mother's blood, good faith they cannot hope great good of yourſelf, a thing in truth I am ſorry for; further your majeſty may perceive by this laſt diſcourſe of

that I proponit, if they had meaned well to your majeſty, they had uſed it otherwiſe than they have done, for reaſon has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind ſomething to ſpeak in this matter, becauſe we look ſhurly our letters ſhall be truſſit by the way.

For that I ſee private credit nor no means can alter their determination, altho' the queen again and the earl of Leiceſter has deſired to ſpeak with me in particular: I mind not to ſpeak, nor ſhall not; but aſſuredly ſhall let all men ſee that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the reſpect of your majeſty's ſervice. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I deſired, yet my upright dealing in it ſhall be manifeſted to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to uſe ſharply our inſtructions, which hitherto we have uſed very calmly, for we can, for your honour's cauſe, ſay no leſs for your majeſty, than the French ambaſſador has ſaid for his maſter.

So I pray your majeſty conſider my upright dealing in your ſervice, and not the effect, for had it been doable (i. e. poſſible to be done) by any I might have here had credit, but being I came only for that cauſe I will not my credit ſhall ſerve here to any further purpoſe. I pray God preſerve your majeſty and ſend you a true and ſincere friendſhip. From London this 12th of Jan. 1586.

I underſtand the queen is to ſend one of her own to your majeſty.

To the right hon. my lord vice-chancellor and ſecretary to his majeſty, from the maſter of Gray.

MY lord, I ſend you theſe lines with this incloſed to his majeſty, whereby your lordſhip ſhall underſtand how matters goes here. And before all things I pray your lordſhip move his majeſty to reſpect my diligence, and not the effect in this negotiation, for I ſwear if it had been for the crown of England to myſelf I could do no more, and let not unfriends have advantage of me, for the world ſhall ſee that I loved England for his majeſty's ſervice only. I look ſhortly to find your lordſhip friend as ye made promiſe, and by God I ſhall be to you if I can. Wm. Keith and I devyſet, if matters had gone well, to have run a courſe that your lordſhip might have

here been in credit and others diſappointed, but now I will do for you as for myſelf; which is to care for no credit here, for in conſcience they mean not honeſtly to the king our ſovereign, and if they may, he will go the get his mother is gone, or ſhortly to go, therefore, my lord, without all kind of ſcruple I pray you to adviſe him the beſt is not this way. They ſay here, that it has been ſaid by one who heard it from you, that ye deſired not the king and England to agree, becauſe it would rack the noblemen, and gave an example of it by king James the fourt, I anſwered in your name that I was aſſured you never had ſpoken it. Mr. Archibald is the ſpeaker of it, who I aſſure lordſhip has been a poiſon in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he ſays, for at length the king will be fain to deal this way, either by fair means or neceſſity, ſo that when he deals this courſe he is ſure to be welcome; to ſet down all that is paſt of the like purpoſes, it would conſume more paper than I have here, ſo I defer it to meeting. There is a new conſpiracy alledged againſt the queen to have been intended, for the French ambaſſador reſident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it ſhall prove nothing. Mr. Stafford, who is ambaſſador for this queen in France, is touched with it, his brother is taken here, always it has done this harm in our negotiation, that all this council would not move this queen to meddle with the queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the incloſed. We minded to have ſent to his majeſty a diſcourſe, which we have ſet down of all our proceedings ſince our hither coming, but we are ſurely advertized that the bearer is to be truſſed by the way for our pacquets, ſo that we defer it till our own coming; this I have put in a privy part beſide the pacquet. We ſhall I think take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our inſtructions, for it cannot ſtand with the king's honour that we ſay leſs than the French ambaſſador, which was, le roy mon maiſtre ne peult moins faire que ſe reſentir. So that about the 24th I think we ſhall, God willing, be at home, except ſome ſtay come which we look not for.

The queen and the earl of Leiceſter has deſired to ſpeak with me. I refuſed ſave in preſence of my colleagues, by reaſon I ſee a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cauſe. It will pleaſe your lordſhip retire the incloſed from his majeſty and keep it. So after my ſervice commended to yourſelf and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London the 12th of Jan. 1586.

To the king's majeſty from ſir Robert Melvil.

IT may pleaſe your majeſty, ſince the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her majeſty appeared to take our overtures in good part in preſence of her council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken reſolution to proceed with extremity, not the leſs it pleaſed her majeſty to deſire us to ſtay for two days on taking our leave, until ſhe had adviſed upon our propoſitions; ſince which time, her majeſty is become more hard by ſome letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making ſome hope to believe that your majeſty takes not this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her majeſty's mind, which by ſiniſter information was credited, thir reports has hindered our commiſſion, and abuſed this queen, fearing in like manner we ſhall be ſtayed until anſwer come from Scotland by ſuch perſon as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your majeſty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occaſion ſo perſuaded the queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As alſo Alchinder (i. e. Alexander) Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit, than I believe he may perform, and we wreat him to deſiſt from this dealing, ſaying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpoſe, remitting to your majeſty's good diſcretion to take order herein as we ſhall be anſwerable to your majeſty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the maſter of Grhaye has behaved himſelf very uprightly and diſcreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in theſe parts who were of before his friends.

We have been behalding to the menſtrals who has born us beſt company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he hath in charge. As for maſter Archibald he has promiſed at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he ſhall find true report made to your majeſty, craving pardon of your majeſty that I have been ſo tedious, after I have kiſſed your majeſty's hand I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your majeſty many good days and happy, in whoſe protection I commit your majeſty at London, the 26th of Jan. 1586.

Sir, albeit Maſter George has not been in commiſſion he is not inferior in his ſervice to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your ſervice, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

To the king's majeſty, from the maſter of Gray and ſir Robert Melvil.

PLEASE it your majeſty in the laſt audience we had, ſince our laſt advertiſement by Wm. Murray, we find her majeſty at the reſuming our offers ſomething mitigated, and inclined to conſider more deeply of them, before we got our leave, at our reaſoning, certain of the council, namely, my lord of Leiceſter, ſir Chriſtopher Haton, my lord Hunſdon, and my lord Hawart being preſent in the chamber, gave little ſhow of any great contentment to heare her from her former reſolution, now caſſin in perplexitie what ſhe ſhould do, always we left her in that ſtate, and ſince we have daily preſſed conference with the whole council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have ſent down to crave our leave. The greateſt hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto is a perſuaſion they have here that either your majeſty deals ſuperficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digeſt it, which when with great difficulty we had expungit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found ſome place of credit with them in our contrare. So that reſolving now to clear them of that doubt by a ſpecial meſſage, they have made choice of ſir Alexander Stewart to try your highneſs's

meaning in it, and to perſuade your majeſty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can ſay out unto him is able to divert him, he has given out that he has credit with your majeſty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your highneſs's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your majeſty will not overſee the diſgrace that his attempts ſhall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard, and if ſo be that any other be directed (as our intelligence gives us there ſhall) our humble ſuit is to your majeſty, that it may pleaſe your highneſs to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her majeſty, before that they find accidence, the cauſes whereof remitting to our private letters. We commit your majeſty for the preſent to God's eternal protection. From London this 21ſt of Jan. 1586.

No. XVIII. (p. 191, vol. 2.)

Copy of a letter from the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, &c. touching their proceedings with regard to the death of the Scottiſh queen, to her majeſty's council.

IT may pleaſe your hon^ble^ good lordſhips to be adverti ſed, that on Saturday the 4th of this preſent, I Robert Beale came to the houſe of me the earl of Kent in the county of —— to whom your lordſhip's letter and meſſage was delivered, and her majeſty's commiſſion ſhewn; whereupon I the earl forthwith ſent precepts for the ſtaying of ſuch hues and crie as had troubled the country, requiring the officers to make ſtay of all ſuch perſons, as ſhould bring any ſuch warrants without names, as before had been done, and to bring them to the next juſtice of peace, to the intent that, upon their examination, the occaſion and cauſes of ſuch ſeditious bruites might be bolted out and known. It was alſo reſolved that I the ſaid earl of Kent ſhould on the Monday following, come to Lylford to Mr. Elmes, to be the nearer and readier to confer with my lord of Shrewſbury. Sunday at night, I Robert Beale came to Fotheringay, where after the communicating the commiſſion, &c. unto us ſir Amice Pawlet and ſir Drue Drury, by reaſon that ſir A. Pawlet was but late recovered, and not able to repair to the earl of Shrewſbury, being then at Orton,

ſix miles off; it was thought good that we ſir Drue Drury and Robert Beale ſhould go unto him, which we did on —— morning; and together with the delivery of her majeſty's commiſſion, and your lordſhip's letter imparted unto him what both the earl of Kent and we though meet to be done in the cauſe, praying his lordſhip hither the day following, to confer with me the ſaid earl, concerning the ſame; which his lordſhip promiſed. And for the better colouring of the matter, I the ſaid earl of Shrewſbury ſent to Mr. Beale, a juſtice of peace of the county of Huntingdon next adjoining, to whom I communicated that warrant, which Robert Beale had under your lordſhip's hands, for the ſtaying of the hues and cries, requiring him to give notice thereof to the town of Peterborough, and eſpecially unto the juſtices of peace of Huntingdonſhire, and to cauſe the purſuers and bringers of ſuch warrants to be ſtayed, and brought to the next juſtice of peace; and to bring us word to Fotheringay caſtle on Wedneſday morning what he had done, and what he ſhould in the mean time underſtand of the authors of ſuch bruites. Which like order, I alſo ſir Amias Pawlet had taken on Monday morning in this town, and other places adjoining. The ſame night, the ſheriff of the county of Northampton upon the receit of your lordſhip's letter came to Arundel, and letters were ſent to me the earl of Kent of the earl of Shrewſbury's intention and meeting here on Tueſday by noon; and other letters were alſo ſent with their lordſhip's aſſent to ſir Edward Montagu, ſir Richard Knightly, Mr. Tho. Brudenell, &c. to be here on Wedneſday by eight of the clock in the morning, at which time it was thought meet that the execution ſhould be. So upon Tueſday, we the earls came hither, where the ſheriff met us; and upon conference between us it was reſolved, that the care for the ſending for the ſurgeons, and other neceſſary proviſion ſhould be committed unto him againſt the time. And we forthwith repaired unto her, and firſt in the preſence of herſelf and her folks, to the intent that they might ſee and report hereafter that ſhe was not otherwiſe proceeded with than according to law, and the

form of the ſtatute made in the 27th year of her majeſty's reign, it was thought convenient that her majeſty's commiſſion ſhould be read unto her, and afterwards ſhe was by ſundry ſpeeches willed to prepare herſelf againſt the next morning. She was alſo put in remembrance of her fault, the honourable manner of proceeding with her, and the neceſſity that was impoſed upon her majeſty to proceed to execution, for that otherwiſe it was found that they could not both ſtand together; and however, ſithence the lord Buckhurſt's his being here new conſpiracys were attempted, and ſo would be ſtill; wherefore ſince ſhe had now a good while ſince warning, by the ſaid lord and Robert Beale, to think upon and prepare herſelf to die, we doubted not but that ſhe was, before this, ſettled, and therefore would accept this meſſage in good part. And to the effect that no chriſtian duty might be ſaid to be omitted, that might be for her comfort, and tend to the ſalvation both of her body and ſoul in the world to come, we offered unto her that if it would pleaſe her to confer with the biſhop and dean of Peterborough, ſhe might; which dean we had, for that purpoſe, appointed to be lodged within one mile of that place. Hereto ſhe replied, croſſing herſelf in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, ſaying that ſhe was ready to die in the catholic Roman faith, which her anceſtors had profeſſed, from which ſhe would not be removed. And albeit we uſed many perſuaſions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing; and therefore, when ſhe demanded the admittance of her prieſt, we utterly denied that unto her. Hereupon, ſhe demanded to underſtand what anſwer we had touching her former petition to her majeſty, concerning her papers of accounts, and the beſtowing of her body. To the firſt we had none other anſwer to make but that we thought if they were not ſent before, the ſame might be in Mr. Waade's cuſtody, who was now in France, and ſeeing her papers could not any wiſe pleaſure her majeſty, we doubted not but that the ſame would be delivered unto ſuch as ſhe ſhould appoint. For, for our own parts, we undoubtedly thought that her majeſty would not make any profit of her things, and therefore (in our opinions)

ſhe might ſet down what ſhe would have done, and the ſame ſhould be imparted unto her majeſty, of whom both ſhe and others might expect all courteſy. Touching her body, we knew not her majeſty's pleaſure, and therefore could neither ſay that her petition ſhould be denyed or granted. For the practice of Babington, ſhe utterly denied it, and would have inferred it, that her death was for her religion; whereunto it was eftſoons by us replied, that for many years ſhe was not touched for religion, nor ſhould have been now, but that this proceeding againſt her was for treaſon, in that ſhe was culpable of that horrible conſpiracy for deſtroying her majeſty's perſon; which ſhe again denied, adding further, that albeit ſhe for herſelf forgave them that were the procurers of her death, yet ſhe doubted not but that God would take vengeance thereof. And being charged with the depoſitions of Naué and Curle to prove it againſt her, ſhe replied, that ſhe accuſed none, but that hereafter when ſhe ſhall be dead, and they remain alive, it ſhall be ſeen how indifferently ſhe had been dealt with, and what meaſure had been uſed unto her; and aſked whether it had been heard before this, that ſervants had been practiſed to accuſe their miſtreſs, and hereupon alſo required what was become of them, and where they remained.

Upon our departure from her, for that it ſeemed by the commiſſion, that the charge of her was in the diſpoſition of us the earls, we required S. Amias Paulet and S. Drue Drurie, to receive, for that night, the charge, which they had before, and to cauſe the whole number of ſoldiers to watch that night, and that her folks ſhould be put up, and take order that only four of them ſhould be at the execution, remaining aloof of and guarded with certain perſons ſo as they ſhould not come near unto her, which were Melvil her ſteward, the phyſician, ſurgeon, and apothecary.

Wedneſday morning, after that we the earls were repaired unto the caſtle, and the ſheriff had prepared all things in the hall for the execution, he was commanded to go into her chamber, and to bring her down to the place where were preſent, we which have ſigned

this letter, Mr. Henry Talbot, Eſq; ſir Edward Montague, knt. his ſon and heir apparent, and William Montague his brother, ſir Richard Knichtly, knt. Mr. Thomas Brudenel, Mr. Beuill, Mr. Robert and John Wingefield, Mr. Forreſt, and Rayner, Benjamin Piggot, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, and others.

At the ſtairfold, ſhe pauſed to ſpeak to Melvil in our hearing, which was to this effect, "Melvil, as thou haſt been an honeſt ſervant to me, ſo I pray thee continue to my ſon, and commend me to him. I have not impugn'd his religion, nor the religion of others, but wiſh him well. And as I forgive all that have offended me in Scotland, ſo I would that ye ſhould alſo; and beſeech God. that he would ſend him his holy ſpirit, and illuminate him." Melvil's anſwer was, that he would ſo do, and at that inſtant he would beſeech God to aſſiſt him with his ſpirit. Then ſhe demanded to ſpeak with her prieſt, which was denied unto her, the rather for that ſhe came with a ſuperſtitious pair of beads and a crucifix. She then deſired to have her women to help her, and upon her earneſt requeſt, and ſaying that when other gentlewomen were executed ſhe had read in chronicles, that they had women allowed unto them, it was permitted that ſhe ſhould have two named by herſelf, which were Mrs. Curle and Kennedy. After ſhe came to the ſcaffold, firſt, in preſence of them all, her majeſty's commiſſion was openly read; and afterwards Mr. Dean of Peterborough, according to a direction which he had received, the night before, from us the earls, wou'd have made a godly admonition to her, to repent and dye well in the fear of God and charity to the world. But at the firſt entry, ſhe utterly refuſed it, ſaying that ſhe was catholique, and that it were a folly to move her, being ſo reſolutely minded, and that our prayers would little avail her. Whereupon, to the intent it might appear that we, and the whole aſſemby, had a chriſtian deſire to have her die well, a godly prayer, conceived by Mr. Dean, was read and pronounced by us all, "That it would pleaſe Almighty God to ſend her his Holy Spirit and grace, and alſo if it were his will, to pardon all her offences,

and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom, and finally to bless her majesty, and confound all her enemies;" whereof Mr. Dean, minding to repair up shortly, can shew your lordships a copy.

This done, she pronounced a prayer upon her knees to this effect, "to beseech God to send her his Holy Spirit, and that she trusted to receive her salvation in his blood, and of his grace to be received into his kingdom, besought God to forgive her enemies, as she forgave them; and to turn his wrath from this land, to bless the queen's majestie, that she might serve him. Likewise to be merciful to her son, to have compassion of his church, and altho' she was not worthy to be heard, yet she had a confidence in his mercy, and prayed all the saints to pray unto her Saviour to receive her." After this (turning towards her servants) she desired them to pray for her, that her Saviour would receive her. Then upon petition made by the executioners, she pardoned them, and said, she was glad that the end of all her sorrows were so near. Then she disliked the whinning and weeping of her women, saying, that they rather ought to thank God for her resolution, and kissing them, willed them to depart from the scaffold and farewell. And so resolutely kneeled down and having a kercheff banded about her eyes, laid down her neck, whereupon the executioner proceeded. Her servants were incontinently removed, and order taken that none should approach unto her corps, but that it should be embalmed by the surgeon appointed. And further, her crosse, apparel, and other things are retained here, are not yielded unto the executioner for inconveniencies that might follow, but he is remitted to be rewarded by such as sent him hither.

This hath been the manner of our dealings in this service, whereof we have thought good to advertise your lordships, as particularly as we could, for the time, and further have thought good to signify unto your lordships besides, that for the avoiding of all sinister and slanderous reports that may be raised to the contrary,

we have cauſed a note thereof to be conceiv'd to the ſame effect in writing, which we the ſaid lords have ſubſcribed, with the hands of ſuch other there the knights and gentlemen above named that were preſent at the action. And ſo beſeeching Almighty God long to bleſs her majeſty with a moſt proſperous reign, and to confound all his and her enemies, we take our leaves. From Fotheringay-caſtle, the 8th of Feb. 1586, in haſt.

N. B. This, as well as ſeveral other papers, in this appendix, is taken from a collection made by Mr. Crawfurd of Drumſoy, hiſtoriographer to queen Anne, now in the library of the faculty of Advocates. Mr. Crawfurd's tranſcriber has omitted to mention the book in the Cott. Lib. where it is to be found.

No. XIX. (p. 195, vol. 2.)

The objections againſt Mr. Daviſon, in the cauſe of the late Scottiſh queen, muſt concern things done either, 1. *Before her trial at Fotheringay,* 2. *During that ſeſſion,* 3. *After the ſame.*

1. BEFORE her trial, he neither is, nor can be charged to have had any hand at all in the cauſe of the ſaid queen, or done any thing whatſoever concerning the ſame, directly or indirectly.

2. During that ſeſſion, he remained at court, where the only intereſt he had therein, was as her majeſty's ſecretary, to receive the letters from the commiſſioners, impart them to her highneſs, and return them her anſwers.

3. After the return thence, of the ſaid commiſſioners, it is well known to all her council,

1. That he never was at any deliberation or meeting whatſoever, in parliament, or council, concerning the cauſe of the ſaid queen, till the ſending down of her majeſty's warrant unto the commiſſioners, by the lords and others of her council.

2. That he was no party in ſigning the ſentence paſſed againſt her.

3. That he never penned either the proclamation publiſhing the ſame, the warrant after her death, nor any other letter, or thing whatſoever concerning the ſame. And,

That the only thing which can be ſpecially and truly

imputed to him, is the carrying up the ſaid warrant unto her majeſty to be ſigned. She ſending a great counſellor unto him, with her pleaſure to that end, and carrying it to the great ſeal of England, by her own ſpecial direction and commandment.

For the better clearing of which truth, it is evident,

1. That the letter, being penned by the lord treaſurer, was delivered by him unto Mr. Daviſon, with her majeſty's own privity, to be ready for to ſign, when ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to call for it.

2. That being in his hands, he retained it at the leaſt five or ſix weeks unpreſented, nor once offering to carry it up, till ſhe ſent a great counſellor unto him for the ſame, and was ſharply reproved therefor by a great peer in her majeſty's own preſence.

3. That having ſigned it, ſhe gave him an expreſs commandment to carry it to the ſeal, and being ſealed to ſend it immediately away unto the commiſſioners, according to the direction. Herſelf appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, miſliking the court-yard, in divers reſpects, and in concluſion abſolutely forbad him to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof, till it was done. She, for her part, having, (as ſhe ſaid) performed all that, in law or reaſon, could be required of her.

4. Which directions notwithſtanding, he kept the warrant ſealed all that night, and the greateſt part of the next day in his hands, brought it back with him to the court, acquainted her majeſty withal, and finding her majeſty reſolved to proceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet deſirous to carry the matter ſo, as ſhe might throw the burden from herſelf, he abſolutely reſolved to quit his hands thereof.

5. And hereupon went over unto the lord's treaſurer's chamber, together with Mr. vice-chamberlain Hatton, and in his preſence reſtored the ſame into the hands of the ſaid lord treaſurer, of whom he had before received it, who from henceforth kept it, till himſelf and the reſt of the council ſent it away.

Which, in ſubſtance and truth, is all the part and in-

tereſt the ſaid Daviſon had in this cauſe, whatſoever is, or may be pretended to the contrary.

Touching the ſending down thereof unto the commiſſioners, that it was the general act of her majeſty's council (as is before mentioned) and not any private act of his, may appear by,

1. Their own confeſſion. 2. Their own letters ſent down therewith to the commiſſioners. 3. The teſtimonies of the lords and others to whom they were directed. As alſo, 4 of Mr. Beale, by whom they were ſent. 5. The tenor of her majeſty's firſt commiſſion for their calling to the ſtar chamber for the ſame, and private appearance and ſubmiſſion afterward inſtead thereof, before the lord chancellor Bromley. 6. The confeſſion of Mr. Attorney-general in open court confirmed. 7. By the ſentence itſelf upon record. 8. Beſides a common act of council, containing an anſwer to be verbally delivered to the Scottiſh ambaſſador then remaining here, avowing and juſtifying the ſame.

Now where ſome ſuppoſe him to have given ſome extraordinary furtherance thereunto, the contrary may evidently appear by,

1. His former abſolute refuſal to ſign the band of aſſociation, being earneſtly preſſed thereunto by her majeſty's ſelf.

2. His excuſing of himſelf from being uſed as a commiſſioner, in the examination of Babington and his complices, and avoiding the ſame by a journey to the Bath.

3. His being a mean to ſtay the commiſſioners from pronouncing the ſentence at Fotheringay, and deferring it till they ſhould return to her majeſty's preſence.

4. His keeping the warrant in his hands ſix weeks unpreſented, without once offering to carry it up, till her majeſty ſent expreſly for the ſame to ſign.

5. His deferring to ſend it away after it was ſealed unto the commiſſioners, as he was ſpecially commanded, ſtaying it all that night, and the greateſt part of the next day in his hands.

6. And finally, his reſtoring thereof into the hands of the lord treaſurer, of whom he had before received the ſame.

Which are clear and evident proofs, that the ſaid Daviſon did nothing in this cauſe whatſoever, contrary to the duty of the place he then held in her majeſty's ſervice. Cal. C. 9.

This ſeems to be an original. On the back is this title, The innocency of Mr Daviſon in the cauſe of the late Scottiſh queen.

No. XX. (p. 474. line 38, vol. 2.)

Letter from ○, *to his majeſty king James.*

MOST worthy prince, the depending dangers upon your affectionates have been ſuch as hath inforced ſilence in him, who is faithfully devoted to your perſon, and in due time of trial will undergo all hazards of fortune, for the maintenance of the juſt legal rights, that, by the laws divine, of nature, and of nations, is inveſted in your royal perſon. Fall not then, moſt noble and renowned prince, from him whoſe providence hath in many dangers preſerved you, no doubt, to be an inſtrument of his glory, and the good of his people. Some ſecrets, I find, have been revealed to your prejudice, which muſt proceed from ſome ambitious violent ſpirited perſon near your majeſty in council and favour; no man in particular will I accuſe, but I am ſure it hath no foundation from any, with whom, for your ſervice, I have held correſpondence, otherwiſe, I had, long ſince, been diſabled from performance of thoſe duties, that the thoughts of my heart endeavoureth; being only known to this worthy nobleman, bearer hereof, one noted in all parts of Chriſtendom for his fidelity to your perſon and ſtate, and to Mr. David Fowlis your moſt loyal ſervant, my firſt and faithful correſpondent; and unto James Hudſone, whom I have found in all things that concern you, moſt ſecret and aſſured. It may, therefore, pleaſe your majeſty, at the humble motion of ○, which jargon I deſire to be the indorſement of your commands unto me, that, by ſome token of your favour, he may underſtand in what terms you regard his fidelity, ſecrecy, and ſervice. My paſſionate affection to your perſon (not as you are a king, but as you are a good king, and have juſt title, after my ſovereign, to be a great king) doth tranſport me to preſumption. Con-

demn not, moſt noble prince, the motives of care and love, altho' mixed with defects in judgment.

1. I therefore, firſt beſeech your majeſty, that for the good of thoſe, whom God, by divine Providence, hath deſtined to your charge, that you will be pleaſed to have an extraordinary care of all practicers or practices, againſt your perſon; for it is not to be doubted, but that in both kingdoms, either out of ambition, faction, or fear, there are many that deſire to have their ſovereign in minority, whereby the ſovereignty and ſtate might be ſwayed by partiality of ſubalternate perſons, rather than by true rule of power and juſtice. Preſerve your perſon, and fear not the practices of man upon the point of your right, which will be preſerved and maintained againſt all aſſaults of competition whatever. Thus I leave the protection of your perſon and royal poſterity, to the Almighty God of Heaven, who bleſs and preſerve you and all yours, in all regal happineſs to his glory.

2. Next to the preſervation of your perſon, is the converſation and ſecret keeping of your councells, which, as I have ſaid, are often betrayed and diſcovered, either out of pretended zeal in religion, turbulent faction, or baſe conception, the which your majeſty is to regard with all circumſpection, as matters moſt dangerous to your perſon and ſtate, and the only means to ruin and deſtroy all thoſe that ſtand faithfully devoted to your majeſty's ſervice. Some particulars, and perſons of this nature, I make no doubt have been diſcovered by the endeavours of this nobleman, the bearer hereof, of whom your majeſty may be further informed.

3. The 3d point conſiderable is that your majeſty, by all means poſſible, ſecure yourſelf of the good affection of the French king and ſtates, by the negociation of ſome faithful ſecret confident; the French naturally diſtaſting the union of the Britiſh iſlands under one monarch. In Germany, I doubt not, but you have many allies and friends, but by reaſon of their remote ſtate, they do not ſo much importe this affair, which muſt be guided by a quick and ſudden motion.

4. When God, by whoſe Providence, the period of

all perſons and times is determined, ſhall call to his kingdom of glory her majeſty, (although I do aſſuredly hope that there will not be any queſtion in competition, yet for that I hold it not fitting to give any minute entrance into a cauſe of ſo high a nature), I do humbly beſeech your majeſty to deſign a ſecret, faithful, and experienced confident ſervant of yours, being of an approved fidelity and judgment, continually to be here reſident, whoſe negociation, it were convenient your majeſty ſhould fortifie, with ſuch ſecret truſt and powers, as there may not need 14 days reſpite, to poſt for authority, in a cauſe, that cannot endure 10 hours reſpite, without varieties of danger. In the which it is to be conſidered, that all ſuch as pretend leaſt good to your eſtabliſhment, will not in public oppugn your title, but out of their cunning ambition will ſeek to gain time, by alledging their pretence of common good to the ſtate, in propounding of good conditions for diſburthening the common weale, of divers hard laws, heavy impoſitions, corruptions, oppreſſions, &c. which is a main point to lead the popular, who are much diſguſted with many particulars of this nature. It were therefore convenient, that theſe motives, out of your majeſty's providence, ſhould be prevented, by your free offer in theſe points following, viz.

1. That your majeſty would be pleaſed to aboliſh purveyors and purveyance, being a matter infinitely offenſive to the common people, and the whole kingdom, and not profitable to the prince

2. That your majeſty would be pleaſed to diſſolve the court of wards, being the ruin of all the noble and ancient families of this realm, by baſe matches, and evil education of their children, by which no revenue of the crown will be deſrayed.

3. The abrogating the multiplicity of penal laws, generally repined againſt by the ſubject, in regard of their uncertainty, being many times altered from their true meaning, by variety of interpretations.

4. That your majeſty will be pleaſed to admit free outport of the native commodities of this kingdom, now often reſtrained by ſubalternate perſons for private

profit, being moſt prejudicial to the commerce of all merchants, and a plain deſtruction to the true induſtry and manufacture of all kingdoms, and againſt the profit of the crown.

Theſe, being by your majeſty's confidents in the point of time propounded, will aſſuredly confirm unto your majeſtie the hearts and affections of the whole kingdom, and abſolutely prevent all inſinuations and devices of deſigned patriots, that, out of pretext of common good, would ſeek to patronize themſelves in popular opinion and power, and thereby to derogate from your majeſty's bounty and free favour, by princely merit of your moderation, judgment and juſtice.

Your majeſty's favour, thus granted to the ſubject, will no way impeach the profits of the crown but advance them. The diſproportionable gain of ſome chequer officers, with the baſe and mercenary profits of the idle and unneceſſary clerks and attendants, will only ſuffer ſome detriment; but infinite will be the good unto the kingdom, which will confirm unto your majeſty the univerſal love and affection of the people, and eſtabliſh your renown in the higheſt eſteem to all poſterity.

The Lord preſerve your majeſtie, and make you triumphant over all your enemies.

My care over his perſon, whoſe letters paſs in this paquet, and will die before he leave to be yours, ſhall be no leſs than of mine own life, and in like eſteem will I hold all your faithful confidents, notwithſtanding I will hold myſelf reſerved from being known unto any of them, in my particular devoted affections unto your majeſty, only this extraordinary worthy man, whoſe aſſociate I am in his misfortune, doth know my heart, and we will both pray for you, and if we live you ſhall find us together.

I beſeech your majeſty, burn this letter, and the others; for altho' it be in an unuſual hand, yet it may be diſcovered. Your majeſty's moſt devoted, and humble ſervant, &c.

FINIS.

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